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Editor's Notes

GREAT technological advances have been made since the end of World War II, man has displayed the scientific genius capable of solving the most intricate of problems; yet as we enter the Nineteen Seventies failure in social engineering and political skills still inhibits man from putting successfully into practice much of what he has learnt. What has gone wrong? Guy Hunter poses this question in his forthright contribution in which he suggests what developing countries need to do to achieve greater development in the rural sector which alone is large enough to absorb the enormous human input which is presently overtaxing their capacity to provide local employment. No better example exists of successful rural development on a major scale than that achieved by the Gezira Scheme in the Sudan. H. M. M. Khalil provides a great deal of interesting and valuable information on how the scheme has been developed – surely there are lessons here for others, and surely the evolution of Gezira which revolutionized the whole economy of the Sudan points to the precept of less haste more speed.

In an earlier contribution P. F. Leeds provided an illuminating account of the housing problem created in Hong Kong by the sudden post-war influx of Chinese from the mainland. Now he contributes an account of the problem of providing public transport for Hong Kong's teeming population and foresees increased government participation in this island "citadel" of free enterprise.

Dr. Bhambhri follows his previous article on the Higher Civil Service in India with a study of the Indian Administrative Service in the context of the phenomenon of new political parties entering the arena of power after twenty years of rule by one political party only – now the assumption that bureaucracy is "neutral" in political conflicts is really on trial.

We are very glad to include in this Number, also, Dr. Ohadike's interesting account of the highly successful and first-ever all-Zambian population census.

Methods of Rural Development Towards Criteria for Administrative Choices

By GUY HUNTER

Mr. Hunter is a visiting Professor at Reading University, a member of the Governing Body of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, and a Research Officer at the Overseas Development Institute, London.

Introduction

THE shift of emphasis in development policy, both in the Tinbergen Report[1] and, very markedly, in the Columbia University Conference,[2] from percentage growth rates as such to "problem-solving", may very well become of high importance in the Nineteen Seventies. The key problems, all interconnected, are likely to be Population, Employment, Poverty, Nutrition. This is probably the right order of urgency, at least for the large poor countries. About 90 millions[3] will enter the Indian labour force in the '70's and about 27 millions will die or retire – 63 millions must be absorbed and they are already born. Unless they can be found productive employment, poverty and malnutrition will increase.

These brutal facts, paralleled on a less dramatic scale in so many countries, place a tremendous responsibility on developing countries for success in development of the rural sector – the only sector big enough to match the problem. It is there, in so many developing countries, that the great mass of people are; it is there that most indigenous resources of men and land are under-used; there that nutrition can be tackled; there that success would do most to slow down the migration to major cities, to provide a market for existing and new industries and services, and to give the chance of restructuring education to meet the practical needs of a prosperous and diversified rural community. Finally, it is there that some redress of the gross inequality in income distribution can be started.

The technology needed for agricultural advance strides ahead. But implementation, the organization of this growing knowledge into crops and animals raised on the farm, lags far behind. This is not surprising; since gunpowder was invented, technology has always been ahead of social engineering and political skill. The Americans, superbly at home in their own technology, find it easier to put a man on the moon than to integrate their schools.

It is with the mass of small farmers, growing mixed crops partly for their own food, that the crucial difficulty lies, whether in Latin America, Africa,

[1] Committee for Development Planning (6th Session), Economic and Social Council, Supplement No. 7, United Nations.
[2] University of Columbia Conference on Economic Development, Williamsburg and New York, February 1970, chaired by Lady Jackson.
[3] Estimate by G. Tobias, Ford Foundation, New Delhi.

or Asia. While technology advances, there is a sad confusion among those responsible for agricultural progress for smallholders and among the external scholars and experts who give them well-meant advice.

There is plenty of experience on the record and a great variety of administrative and institutional tools to choose from – co-operatives, agricultural development corporations, banks and credit corporations, government extension services, community development, *panchayats* and village development committees, agri-business, marketing boards, Comilla systems, Taiwan systems, World Bank projects, I.A.D.P.[4] organization. Yet, despite occasional successes, the same mistakes go on – in settlement schemes, in tractor schemes, irrigation schemes, credit or co-operative schemes; they are made, often in closely similar circumstances, right across the world – in Latin America, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Tanzania, Pakistan, India, Burma, Thailand, Fiji. What is wrong?

The central fact is that this body of experience has not been adequately analysed into an ordered body of principles of wide application which would give, at least *prima facie*, criteria for choice. A Director of Agriculture or a consultant, faced with a problem of major smallholder development, cannot look to such principles. He will of course know some, perhaps much, of the record; but is it applicable? If a method failed in Tanzania, what are the chances that it will fail in Thailand? What are the critical factors in comparison, and what are inessential?

Part of the trouble is certainly that experience is not transferred widely enough, and particularly inter-continentally. Take a very small specific example. Melville[5] describes how the first scheme for African-grown coffee largely failed in Embu-Meru Districts in Kenya, between 1934 and 1939. The coffee was planted in a single block, each holder having several rows in the block. Two reasons for failure are given – the farmer had to walk some way to the coffee and in consequence neglected it; and disease spread more rapidly. Exactly the same happened in Fiji 30 years later, in planting communal banana groves in the Waidina Valley; the reasons for failure were exactly the same.

But even if transfer were far better, the difficulty of assessing comparability remains. Obviously, smallholder agriculture takes place in a huge variety of circumstances, with great differences in three essential factors – the state of human development of the farming community (attitudes, institutions, education, resources, etc. etc.); the technical problems (climate, crop, soil, etc.); and the capacity, type of organization and institutional framework of the agency of change applied to this total situation. This article is designed to suggest at least an approach to the problem of fitting the agency and methods applied to the range of situations. It is an approach which the Overseas Development Institute and Reading University are seeking to embody in an international research programme.

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[4] Intensive Agricultural District Programme, evolved by the Government of India in collaboration with the Ford Foundation.

[5] A. R. Melville, "The Development of Coffee Production by African Farmers in Kenya" in A. H. Bunting (Ed.) *Change in Agriculture*, (London, Duckworth, 1970).

The Farming Community and its Needs

A total description even of a single village community would need a book. Obviously, if any criteria based on the state of a community into which change has to be introduced are to be suggested, they must be highly selective. Out of all the factors in a current culture, which are vitally significant for the purpose of agricultural modernization?

If we look at a community which moves from a highly "traditional" to a highly "modernized" agricultural and social state, there may be – I believe there are – certain factors which change through time, which are critical to modernization, which may change at differential rates but change in a common direction. If the "first" state is "A" and the last "Z", then intermediate states "K" or "P" or "T" each stand for a combination of these factors, which are moving, at an uneven pace, in a common direction – the direction of the line A-Z.[6]

These factors in a "traditional" state have often been described – isolation from the outside world, an emphasis on security rather than risk-gain, low literacy, minimal resources, minimal individual capital accumulation (it is spread among relatives), suspicion of outsiders; in some cases, high dependence (on landlord, or other magnate), high conformism to social custom, jealousy of success, etc. etc. At the "Z" end of the scale these are largely reversed – frequent easy contact with the outer world and ability to handle modern organizations (credit, commerce, officials, politics), an emphasis on maximizing income, higher literacy, some savings, much more individually controlled; freedom from dependence, individual non-conformity, increasing managerial skill and initiative.

It may be best to suggest at once certain broad implications which might be drawn from this reasoning. First, far more external management services will be needed at "A" than at "Z". Credit, supplies, technical advice, marketing help will have to be *provided* at "A" because the community cannot deal effectively with the external world. At "Z" the credit-worthy farmer can pick and choose among suppliers eager to sell to him, has constant market information, knows how to reach sophisticated technical advice. "A" farmers need plenty of simply-trained staff to help them, credit and supply at their door; "Z" farmers do not – the Punjab wheat farmer knows more than the village level worker and goes to the University for advice: the tribal farmer does not need, not can he use, the University skills.

Second, the highly dependent farmer, offered full democratic management of his affairs, usually cannot accept it. Government is not in fact able to protect him from the power of the magnate all the days of the week, nor, usually, provide him with the same range of services which the magnate may give, at however high a price in subservience or labour. Moreover, on his

[6] I use the continuous line as more accurate than a system of "stages", which I have earlier used as shorthand, which suggest discontinuity, and also perhaps suggest that all factors change at the same speed. In fact there will always be relics of the past and foreshadowings of the future at any point; and the items of the past which linger may be different from one community to another. Nor is even the "Z" state one of universal conformity: Japan and France are both highly modernized but very different. It is only the key factors for participation in a modern economy which follow the A-Z line.

own, he is simply unable to tackle the financial and personal management of a co-operative or a district council, nor are the necessary morals, disciplines, distinction of role between committee member and family breadwinner developed. Thus a programme such as the Indian combination of I.A.D.P. and *Panchayati Raj*, demanding on the agricultural side high inputs (i.e. large credit risks), high technology, and high participation in democratic control was bound to result in strengthened power and success to the few who could handle it, a huge trail of co-operatives of which the majority are either ineffective or captured by magnates, and a vast majority of small men who could not take the risks. It has, in fact, been emphasising a "modern sector" and a subsistence sector, and a widening gap in incomes, not as between agriculture and industry, but within the agricultural sector itself.[7]

A very similar argument could be developed for the technical side of change. While the sociologist and political scientist may be best fitted to trace the sequence of changing human social attitudes and capacities, the economist and the agricultural technician are more needed to analyse the sequence of technical innovation which can reasonably be expected to follow upon one another. But this distinction must not be pushed too far. Technical change may be inhibited by social factors and social change may be remarkably accelerated by financially tempting technical advance: policy decisions always act on total situations, not on the abstractions of politics or economics which are useful for analysis. This parallel argument on technical policy is not pursued here, mainly because it is far too complex. First, the range of possible technical situations is much wider than the range of (broadly classified) social situations. Second, unique technical solutions can be applied to unique situations; but there is a limited range of administrative and institutional approaches, and from this range any single method has to be of fairly broad application (though not nearly so broad as is usually employed). There is inevitably some hit-and-miss about administration; but very little about growing photosensitive plants at the wrong season.

The Organizing Agency – Choice of Method

Over against this varied and shifting scene of human and technical situations stands an agency of development – in the main, government, with a range of possible tools of intervention at its command.

Before looking at the choice of tool, two general observations are needed. First, government is itself part of the society which it seeks to change – neither all-wise, nor commanding a large, impeccable and efficient administration, nor even politically disinterested in the direction of social change. We can, for the purpose of this argument, neglect the lack of total wisdom and even the factor of self-interest, although this last is at the root of much stagnation and of many major mistakes. Even if competence and goodwill

[7] I have tried elsewhere to give further detailed examples of the effects of using methods unrelated to the state of development of the recipients, especially in relation to co-operatives, University extension and local elected committees charged with development functions. Each needs a careful analysis too long for this article. See *Modernizing Peasant Societies* and *The Administration of Agricultural Development* (London, Oxford University Press, 1969 and 1970 respectively).

are assumed at the top political level – and in some countries they can be – the effectiveness of the administrative tool and the range of viable institutions are a real constraint in most developing countries. Schemes which absolutely require high administrative capacity, probity and energy on a very large scale and at very low levels, among ill-paid and ill-trained petty officials, are hardly likely to succeed.

Second, it is clear that if policy is to take into account the differences in human and technological situation among varied farming communities, a high degree of delegation of detailed policy choices is essential. Where a province or district covers major differences in physical environment and human communities, wide variation of executive action will be needed, and the choice of method must lie with the provincial or district authority – obviously within some general financial and policy limitations emanating from the centre.

With these two cautions – that good administrators are a scarce resource and that delegation of tactical policy is essential — we can look at some alternative tools of change.

Here again, the records, if only they were fully analysed, ought to help. There is, for example, very widespread evidence that a skilled commercial and technical management organizing even a very large number of small growers can be highly successful when handling a single commercial crop – usually an export crop. The Kenya Tea Development Authority (with some 32,000 growers cropping over 21,000 areas of tea)[8]; sugar companies (or sometimes co-operatives); tobacco companies, with outgrowers, are obvious examples. The preceding argument suggests that this type of comprehensive management, which usually caters for supplies (on credit), technical advice, processing and marketing, is exactly what is needed for farmers in the fairly early stage of development, once they have broken out of the "A" state. Could it not, with careful adaptation, be applied much more widely? Could not the government extension effort be organized as a managerial effort, not simply an advisory one, and for a wider range of crops, including those which are largely locally consumed?

If we look at co-operatives, there is plenty of evidence that they tend to succeed both in certain technical conditions (e.g. for export crops marketed by a monopoly) and for sharing certain common facilities – dairy, irrigation pump, storage, etc. – and in certain social conditions – where managerial capacity is fairly well developed. There is evidence also of failure: (a) in crops sold in competition with merchants on local markets; (b) where the members are very unsophisticated in managerial skills; (c) where financial turnover is very limited (e.g. pure credit co-operatives). There is a strong case for paying more attention to this experience; for distinguishing carefully between large-scale managerial, commercial forms of co-operation and small-scale sharing of common facilities by "organizations" which are really little more than farmers' clubs. There is a case, too, for distinguishing situations

[8] As at mid 1967. See R. J. M. Swynnerton, "Commonwealth Development Corporation Nucleus Estate and Smallholder Schemes" in *Change in Agriculture* (supra).

of high dependence and situations where the membership is strong enough to avoid capture by one or two magnates.

Next, if we look at the total range of government extension, surely the argument from scarce administrative resources and low capacity for co-ordination among very junior staff points to a high likelihood of failure if the effort is split among five or six different agencies, all with field staff – e.g. agricultural extension officers for technical advice, co-operatives for crop credit and fertilizer, engineering department for irrigation water, local government for domestic water and roads, banks for capital-improvement credit, community development or education for adult training, a marketing board and a district commissioner with supervisory powers. At the early stage, where all these services may indeed have to be provided, this elaborate departmental structure (remembering the quality of the lowest links) is almost doomed to failure. Three main functions are involved – production (technical advice and trianing); commercial (credit, supplies, selling); and engineering (roads, water, land-works). Could not these three be firmly co-ordinated at district level, with a saving in both personnel and muddle?

Finally, a similar set of arguments applies to the use of democratic committees in development. It involves first a clear distinction between the objects of these schemes – are they for encouraging active participation by villagers, or a convenient way of delegating routine local government, a means of political check on the bureaucracy, or the best way of district and regional development planning? Once the object is clearly defined, the possibility that "A" farmers or "Z" farmers can effectively contribute will be easier to see; and clearly will involve different policies for different situations.

The Reading/O.D.I. Programme is at present seeking a test of this thinking. Indeed, to stimulate specific argument, six Propositions[9] have been put forward, purely as hypothesis, to test against local problems in India and in East Africa.

In fact, I would like to suggest that this type of thinking has much wider and possibly very fruitful implications. "Intermediate Technology" has suggested, in one field, the need to recognize sequences of technical development appropriate to economic needs. But it is not only a question of technology: it is a question of intermediate, or, rather, appropriate economic thinking, appropriate organization and institutions, appropriate rate and nature of democratic development. For example, in the vital area of marrying local industry and services to agricultural development, is there a case *at an early stage* for basket-making and shoe-making in villages and small towns, or is it better to swamp the shoemakers with plastic sandals from a local metropolitan factory? In early stages, should we advise a straight jump to fully commercial agriculture, or should small-scale food production for home consumption continue, but with more specialization? Is there a place for a garment industry, or is it good that Nairobi markets are filled with cheap foreign secondhand clothes? What are the pre-conditions needed to make County Councils really succeed in a development context? If an object is to

[9] These are appended, for interest.

secure wider distribution of power and fairer distribution of income, in what conditions will co-operatives help this, rather than give extra power and extra gain to the already powerful and rich?

In all the modern talk of "technical break-through", "green revolution", "locating industry in rural areas" (why does it have to be "located" – it ought to grow in response to rural needs), are we not still trying to drive a wedge of 1970 technology, institutions, concepts of "industry" and "urbanisation" into a wholly different kind of economy and society – the same kind of wedge which has already split developing societies into dual economies and will, if we are not careful, split the rural sector just as destructively?

APPENDIX: SIX PROPOSITIONS

Proposition I: In the earlier stages of development there must be some unit of competent and co-ordinated management capable or providing direct access to technical advice, engineering services, supplies, credit and marketing arrangements.

Proposition II: In areas where, or at a development stage when, most small cultivators are highly dependent upon richer, more powerful, more prestigious elements in their own local community, these management services must be provided from outside the local social structure.

Proposition III: At least in early stages, the management of external services to the farmer should be controlled by an agency which has responsibility for the technical programmes and for agricultural investment in the area.

Proposition IV: The demands for trained and competent staff must be kept as low as possible. The co-ordination of this staff should be through a definite management structure, and not by reliance on the goodwill and administrative tact of a mass of junior staff with differing departmental allegiances.

Proposition V: It is necessary to distinguish carefully between various qualitative types of "co-operative", to define precisely what policy object they are designed to achieve, and to relate their use to the "total situation" of the farming community.

Proposition VI: In using elected committees at village, block or district (in East Africa, division, area, country, district or regional) levels, careful distinction is needed between the objects of–1) Popular participation in development activities; 2) delegated routine local government; 3) politicization of the rural areas.

Counting Heads in Africa
The Experience of Zambia, 1963 and 1969

By PATRICK O. OHADIKE

Dr. Ohadike is on the staff of the Institute for Social Research at Lusaka.

Most African countries have, since achieving independence, evolved development plans to guide their efforts in the social and economic transformation of their communities. Along with this has grown the logical awareness of the relevance of population data to designing reasonable development programmes. Not only has it become necessary to know the size and characteristics of the population, but also to have a fair estimate of the rate and pattern of its growth as invaluable aids to forecasting and allocating objectively the prospective needs of the nation. To this end, large sums of money have been spent on conducting population censuses, and Zambia has just completed its first full national census, and only the second ever held in the country to include all the African population – the first, for Africans only, was held in 1963 a year before Independence was achieved. Of great significance is that, by having these censuses, we are now beginning to have data on the African population, which during several decades of colonial administration, was never enumerated, except in 1963, on the questionable grounds of inadequate finance and personnel. The failure to count Africans in Zambia has been unfortunate, considering that regular periodic counts of Europeans, Asians and coloureds were carried out by the same colonial administration[1] between 1911 and 1961.

Zambia's recent census, held between 22nd and 30th August 1969, is also significant in that it provides data which can be analysed, comparatively, with the preceding one of 1963, and so make possible a study of intercensual population change. Plans to hold the census were conceived in 1967 and were consistently prosecuted with a reasonable degree of success due largely to government backing and some carefully co-ordinated administration built around the Central Statistical Office, Lusaka. There was an initial awareness of the need to divest the census of any political or sectional involvement, and no *ad hoc* Census Board composed of regional representatives was set up. Members of such boards, in some countries that have used them, tended to have sectional interests which jeopardized the national aims of the census. Recent successful census operations in a number of countries, including Zambia, now underline the need to use some centrally based administrative unit composed mainly of civil servants, who could reasonably be expected to act impartially.

The Census Administration

The success of the census administration owed very much to the decentralization of functions and authority. Although the Central Statistical

[1] A purely African census in 1950 was made on a sample basis only.

Office, Lusaka, was the principal administrative unit, authority and functions were widely delegated to already existing and to *ad hoc* constituted personnel in the provinces and districts. There were, for instance, eight provincial census officers, who were drawn mainly from the senior staff members of the Central Statistical Office; these provided the administrative link between the regions (provinces and districts) and the Census Office in Lusaka. Next in the chain were 81 senior supervisors, one or two of whom were assigned to a district to control the census activities of over 1,500 supervisors, who also had control over the 8,000 enumerators who did the actual counting in the field. The number of persons in each staff category implies also the approximate number of finer administrative divisions by land area involved, viz: 81 senior supervisor areas, 1,500 supervisor areas and 8,000 enumeration areas.

The training of the various categories of field staff also involved some decentralization. Initially, the provincial census officers and senior supervisors were trained in Lusaka for two weeks by the Central Statistical Office. Then the senior supervisors, who were mainly managers of schools and headmasters of secondary schools, undertook in one week the training of the supervisors drawn essentially from the teaching staff of secondary schools and from headmasters of primary schools. It was then left to these supervisors to train the enumerators, who were mostly school teachers or students in or above form III level of education. Because there were two types of schedules used, one being longer than the other, the enumerators who administered the former were trained for two weeks, while those who administered the shorter version received only one week's training. Time-tables were designed for each training course and training sessions were conducted under the surveillance of representatives of the Central Statistical Office. Within reasonable expectations, persons charged with the training, whether supervisors or senior supervisors, did so collectively. It was therefore possible for, say, three or four supervisors, coaching their enumerators in one place at the same time, to engage in discussions of problems and through this to minimise individual errors and ensure the maximum use of experience, time and money. Because of the heavy reliance on teachers and students, most of the training was done during school holidays.

Reflecting post-independence improvement in the provision of education and training, the quality of the staff employed in this census was higher than that used in 1963. In particular, enumerators, who then were of lower educational standard and were only expected to have had at least a standard six education, were required to have a minimum of form III education in the 1969 census. Of course, in an exercise of this nature, training is at least as important as educational attainment. In this regard, again, it must be said that the latest census achieved better training standards. One reason for this is that more money, almost two and a half times the 1963 expenditure, was made available by the government.[2] Besides, because enough money and time were available, the training was longer and more intensive.

In terms of scope and objectives, the last census shows some considerable improvement on that of 1963, which only gathered basic information on age

[2] The 1963 Census cost KSh 90,000 and although the actual amount expended in 1969 has to be declared, the vote put aside for it was KSh 450,000.

(in broad age groups), sex, education, economic activity, birthplace and disabilities. As well as covering these aspects, the 1969 census included additional questions on the dynamics of growth (births, deaths and migration), single-year (not broad) age groups, citizenship, mother tongue, occupation, industry, marital status and some household particulars on accommodation and housing facilities. What is perhaps very interesting, for purposes of comparison, is the fact that every item of information in 1969 was collected for the African, European, Asian and coloured populations whereas, as already stated, in 1963 the census was confined to the African population.

The adequacy of the questionnaire covering each item investigated was established through holding a pilot census in some selected urban and rural areas in July, 1968, and also through a number of wide-ranging discussions and seminars. One such discussion took place at the University of Zambia. It was organized by the writer with warm encouragement from Professor D. H. Davies of the Geography Department, and was also very well attended by members of other departments with scientific interest in the result of the census, as well as representatives of the Central Statistical Office. No doubt the discussions and the pilot census paid off very well. It was not only possible to assess the criteria of adequacy, inclusiveness and exclusiveness in framing the questions, but also to test public reaction to the working and content of the questions. Administratively, the pilot census did bring home to the organisers the magnitude of work involved and suggested useful lines of approach in making the final plans for the national census. For instance, a very important change was made after analysing the pilot census results with the Optical Reader. Using this machine, which can read and tabulate information written and presented to it in a special format, has the advantage of saving all the time and money involved in coding and punching census information before feeding it on to the computer to get the final tabulations. The information to be read by the Optical Reader was fed directly as written down during interviews by enumerators in the field. With the pilot census, however, it turned out that the Reader proved temperamental in accepting many of the figures written by the enumerators; the precision in shaping the figures to the desired format was considerably off the mark in the rejected cases. Also, knowing that very often interviewing situations present social, physical and psychological stresses which increasingly impede interviewers' conformity to the required specifications, the census organisers finally required the enumerators to record responses on questionnaires which would, at the end of the entire field work, be transferred and coded on Optical Reader cards. In fact, had these cards been completed by the enumerators while in the field, the results of the census would have been greatly affected by the variations in the accuracy and coding ability of enumerators. The problem would be aggravated if many of them were less efficient coders, and it would have proved very difficult to edit such already coded information for consistency and orderly presentation. What the change to using questionnaires implies is some consequent delay in publishing the results of the census arising from coding the information on Optical Reader cards. But this, in view of the inherent problems involved in writing appropriately for the Reader, is a delay better condoned than rejected.

In the appendix is an all-embracing copy of the English version of the questions administered during the census. For those interested, vernacular versions are available from the C.S.O. As already mentioned, two types of schedules were used. Schedule 1, covering all questions (1 to 23), was applied in towns and only a 10 per cent sample of the rural areas. It should be presently pointed out that the 10 per cent sampling fraction is not final. As only inadequate knowledge of the current size of the statistical universe and of the sample units existed, the appropriate sampling fraction would only emerge later when the population actually enumerated within the universe and sample units, as revealed by the latest census, are known and compared with each other. Thus, depending on the outcome of this exercise, the actual sampling fraction employed in the rural areas could be no higher or lower than 10 per cent. The major reason for not covering all parts of the rural area was that the variability in responses to questions 13 to 23 and those on housing would be slight, so that if adequate sampling was done, effort, time and money would be saved. Schedule 2, which was used in the entire rural and urban areas, although printed on a separate sheet of paper, consisted of questions 1 to 12 which, as can be seen, conform to the basic and more commonly collected type of demographic information in censuses all over the world.

The rural sample was randomly selected by the Central Statistical Office, with supervisor areas as the sampling frame. Enumeration areas might have been preferred, but using them posed many administrative and analytical problems. The Central Statistical Office had better knowledge of the boundaries of the supervisor areas which, as opposed to the enumeration areas, were mapped and consequently easier to identify for purposes of subsequent analysis and interpretation. Actually, one glaring omission of the 1963 and 1969 census operations was the failure to provide maps of enumeration areas to guide the enumerators. There were, of course, cogent reasons of inadequate time, personnel and money for this omission, but it should be stated that a better sample would probably have been obtained if maps of enumeration areas had been available. More important, however, is the fact that it would have made the counting easier and raised the level of accuracy by reducing the chances of duplication and omissions due to the possible misunderstandings over the coverage of enumeration areas. In a way, the Central Statistical Office expected too much specialized knowledge from the supervisors; they were not only commissioned to demarcate enumeration areas – inclusive of whole villages and, only when it was unavoidable, parts of villages – but also to draw maps of their respective enumeration areas. It is not, therefore, surprising that almost all of them failed to draw the maps. It hardly needs to be said that, should sufficient funds be available when the next census is to be undertaken, specialist aid should be recruited early enough to provide maps of enumeration areas which, in any case, would be useful not only for conducting one census, but for organising many more in the future and also for sampling in other statistical enquiries.

Success and Problems

It would appear that quite a number of factors contributed to the success of the 1969 census. Apart from the administrative set-up, mention must be

made of the timing of the whole operation. Although the actual counting in 1963 as well as in 1969 coincided with the school holidays in order to make staff available without disrupting curricula, the later census had the added distinction that the Central Statistical Office got the Ministry of Education to change the school holidays to a climatically drier time of the year (i.e. late August) as against May/June in 1963 when, relatively, some places could still be fairly wet. The assignment of staff was another matter. Care was taken to allocate persons to areas where they had intimate acquaintance with the terrain and the local set-up. This helped to reduce the omission of settlements, particularly in areas where they were in small scattered groups.

Reference has already been made to the significance of the pilot census which, in another sense, helped to publicize the final count long before the the concerted publicity campaign for its success was launched. As many organs of information as possible were used. Regular press, radio and television announcements were made and more important, of course, His Excellency the President of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, employed all communication media to make pronouncements on the national significance of the census. Posters in English and vernacular were commonly displayed and films showing why the census was necessary were screened particularly in the villages where chiefs and headmen were also recruited into the propaganda machinery. School teachers played the important role of instructing children to explain the census and its purpose to their parents and relatives. All forms of publicity stressed the social and material benefit of the census in a spirit epitomised by His Excellency the President's statement on the need for co-operating with the enumerators: "I cannot over-emphasise the importance of a Census of Population and Housing . . . An accurate number of people living in various parts of Zambia and their characteristics such as age, education and occupation are absolutely vital for proper planning. We are all engaged in the tremendous task of improving the conditions of living for every man, woman and child in Zambia on the basis of Humanism . . . The information which will be collected during the forthcoming census will be very important in this respect. Planning without accurate information is like building a house without proper foundations."[3]

The President's appeal and those of the other agencies yielded useful dividends. Reported opposition to the census was minimal and occurred only at the very beginning and then mainly for want of adequate clarification and through suspicion engineered by over-zealous political party members, who did not understand that the census had nothing to do with political affiliations. The important point is that known incidents of this nature were isolated and could not have prejudiced the interest of the census to any significant extent. In fact, some of the reported furore (*Zambia News*, Sunday, 24th August, 1969; *Times of Zambia*, 29th August, 1969) may have given added publicity to the census, as shown by the series of meetings launched, for example, in Ndola to impress upon party members the importance of the economic reforms and, therefore, of co-operating with the census enumerators.

[3] From the speech (*Census of Population and Housing*, 1969) by His Excellency the President, *Government Printer, Lusaka*.

Apart from political pressure, one other problem encountered was over transport, particularly in the remote and less accessible areas of the country. Initially, not enough vehicles and petrol were available. The Government quickly saved the situation by putting at the disposal of the census organisers transport belonging to other ministries. The difficulty of locating the remote and inaccessible areas was minimised through the use, as much as possible, of local personnel. But this is not to argue that a complete coverage was achieved. In the first place the census was a *de facto* count of persons where they slept on the night of the census, and so travellers out of the country would not be counted, just as visitors to the country, no matter where they lodged, would have been counted. In the second place, some internal travellers, businessmen and holidaymakers, would have been omitted. However, because Zambia has no nomadic tribes of the types found in the Sudan, Kenya and other countries with a marked cattle culture, the omission of travellers would not have seriously affected the census results. Finally, there would be persons and households not counted, perhaps inadvertently, by enumerators. A few cases in Lusaka have been reported, and the extent of such omissions in other areas is not known. However, unless this occurred on a fairly large scale, and there is no such indication, the results of the census will not be significantly affected.

Preliminary Results

It is, perhaps, a tribute to the well co-ordinated administrative procedure followed that the preliminary result of the census came out in just about two months after the enumeration. Provincial and district figures of total population have been published, and this was expedited by sharing out among the regional census officers the duty of assembling data in their respective areas of authority. The regional results were then brought to the C.S.O. in Lusaka where, after being checked, they were collated to give the preliminary results summarized in *Table One*. The important salient feature of the census results as revealed by the intercensual population change is that the population of Zambia increased by 16.2 per cent between 1963 and 1969 which corresponds to a 2.5 per cent geometric annual increase. This, however, ranks below the 3.2 per cent yearly increase calculated from the results of the 1963 census, but corresponds with the estimate of 2.5 per cent from the 1950 demographic sample survey. The suggestion here is either that the 1963 census over-estimated the rate of growth or that the growth rates estimated from the 1950 survey and the 1969 census fell below the mark. For the present, it can safely be assumed that, on the basis of the three measures available, the actual rate of growth lies somewhere between 2.5 per cent and 3.2 per cent. It should be possible to assess the situation with greater certainty when information on the age/sex distribution, birth and death rates drawn from the 1969 census become available.

Other striking results of the census relate to the regional variations in the intercensual rate of increase. The most rapidly growing province is the Copperbelt with 49.8 per cent increase between 1963 and 1969, followed by the Central Province with 40.2 per cent. The Western Province alone increased by 14.9 per cent, while none of the others had more than 8 per

cent increase in the period. In fact the Northern and Luapula Provinces, quite remarkably, showed negative rates of growth, their intercensual rate of change being – 4.1 per cent and – 5.3 per cent respectively. One obvious demographic rationale for this is the marked migration of persons from the two provinces to the Copperbelt in particular. Available statistics show that people from the other provinces are under-represented in this province. Actually, as a result of improved living and housing conditions in the towns, recent migration from the provinces has, no doubt, increased in volume through involving more family units than in the past, when prevailing conditions of poverty did not encourage family migration, and the movement was largely confined to unaccompanied males seeking employment. Also, female migration to the towns may have increased in recent years with the new opportunities for female urban employment which have arisen since independence, as against the colonial days when their chances of finding jobs were clearly circumscribed. One other factor which could have "pushed" population from Luapula and Northern Provinces to other areas within and without Zambia, especially the Congo, is the Lumpa religious crisis. Indeed it is significant that those districts such as Chinsali, Isoka and Lundazi, where most of the disturbance occurred, showed a very marked loss of population in the intercensual period 1963-69. That the population loss of Luapula and Northern Provinces revealed by the census was the gain of the Copperbelt through in-migration is, perhaps, supported by the fact that the combined rate of change for Luapula, Northern, North-Western and Copperbelt Provinces was, yearly, 2.5 per cent as against 2.7 per cent for the whole of Zambia: indeed, 2.9 per cent was the combined rate of increase of the Southern, Eastern, Central and Western Provinces. As for the fairly marked increase of the population of the Western (Barotse) Province, the abolition of the WENELA recruitment of labour for South African mines, the curtailment of movement to Rhodesia consequent upon UDI, and the repatriation of Zambian workers from these countries would have accelerated the rate of population growth during the period in that province, and presumably so in the North-Western Province where significant WENELA recruitment occurred in the past.

Conclusion

All in all, the preliminary results have come up quite well to expectations backed by available evidence of growth, movement and distribution of population in the country. When the final and detailed results are published, Zambia will rank among those few African countries with reasonably acceptable population data. Indeed, true to the aims and objectives of the census, the planning and forecasting of the social and economic needs of Zambians will now be backed and guided by some relatively adequate population principles.

The successful execution of the census can well have far-reaching implications for future enumerations in other African countries. The undertaking of a national census must be backed by the provision of adequate financial support. Besides the financial aspect, censuses should be treated as exercises of immense national significance, and should be free from any political

interference and partisanship. Personnel charged with responsibility for census counts should be drawn from among those least likely to nurse sectional or regional sentiments. Responsible civil servants of central government should be selected or, at least, should form the core of the census policy and decision making body. Publicity should not only be sufficiently diversified, intensive and extensive, but also organised around a common national theme of generating universal economic progress through its successful completion. As the work involved in taking and processing a census is heavy and tedious, the delegation of functions through evolving a decentralised administrative and organisational machinery can contribute, as was the case in Zambia, to the speed and success of the enumeration.

Table 1

Preliminary Result of the 1969 Population Census of Zambia.

Province	POPULATION ('000) 1963	1969	% *Inter-censual Change*	
Central	505	708	+40.2	17.6
Eastern	480	509	+ 6.0	
Southern	466	499	+ 7.1	
Western (Barotse)	363	417	+14.9	
Copperbelt (Western)	544	815	+49.8	14.7
Luapula	357	338	− 5.3	
North-Western	211	227	+ 7.6	
Northern	564	541	− 4.1	
Total (Zambia)	3,490	4,054	+1.62	

Source: Central Statistical Office, Lusaka, *Republic of Zambia Population and Housing Census*, 1969.

Fig. 1. Administrative and Personnel Training Chart

1. Administrative Links 2. Personnel and Training

(a) *Delegation of Training Functions*

(a)	C.S.O.* Lusaka	TRAINED	Provincial Census Officers	Senior Supervisors	TRAINED	Supervisors	TRAINED	Enumerators

(b) *Qualifications of Personnel*

(b)	Provincial Permanent Secretaries	Provincial Census Officers	All C.S.O. Senior Staff but one	School Managers & College Head-Masters	Primary school Head-Masters and College Tutors	Primary school teachers & students form III or more

(c) *Numerical Strength of Personnel*

(c)	District Secretaries	8+1 on reserve	c. 81	c. 1500	c. 8000

* Central Statistical Office.

Public Transport in Hong Kong

By P. F. LEEDS

Mr. Leeds has been employed by the Hong Kong Government for 18 years and has worked in various departments particularly in the field of public housing and more recently in the newly formed Transport Department.

PUBLIC administration in Hong Kong over the last few years usually brings to mind the subjects that have received the greatest attention from visiting newspaper correspondents and television camera teams: the problems of over-population, refugees, squatters, resettlement, housing, water shortages and industrial expansion. They are undoubtedly news-worthy subjects and make interesting copy and film but, serious though they are, these problems are not necessarily the ones that the ordinary man in the Hong Kong street regards as being most important to him. The price of a catty of pork may be of far more immediate interest than plans to build a new housing estate in 1975, and next term's school fees are likely to concern him more than next year's balance of payments figures.

Hong Kong has its own unique problems but to the ordinary man in the street the problems of daily life are not very different from those of any other large city; employment, the cost of living, a place to live, education for the children and travelling expenses are the difficulties which appear near the top of his list of priorities. If the correspondence columns of the Colony's free and very outspoken press are any guide, then the number of angry letters from "Pro Bono Publico" and "Frustrated Commuter" and of course "Taxpayer" places the difficulties of getting to and from work and school into the first position among the problems of daily life for many citizens. There are few days when there are no letters complaining that bus number so-and-so did not stop, or conductor number this was rude, or when are "They" going to do something about the service to somewhere or another.

Hong Kong Island – Victoria – was occupied and proclaimed a British Colony in 1841, the Kowloon peninsular was ceded by the Convention of Peking in 1860 and in 1898 the New Territories were leased to Britain for 99 years. The colony and leased territory is small in area, only 398½ square miles in all and the main urban development is concentrated in a very small part of this area. In consequence the length of journeys in terms of distance is fairly short, but any distance that is beyond the limits that people are prepared to walk involves some means of mechanical transport and, in Hong Kong, the problem boils down to moving large numbers of people over fairly short distances. Each day buses, trams, taxis, the railway and the ferries carry over three million passengers and it is estimated that approximately 75 per cent of all trips made are by public transport. Even taking into account that many people do more than one journey a day, a large proportion of the travelling public is wholly dependent upon the public transport undertakings.

The Colony in its capacity as a free port has thrived on the flexibility and drive of free enterprise with minimum government controls and it is hardly

surprising that the development of public transport has been largely in the hands of private companies. The first public transport company was, oddly enough, the Peak Tram which has operated a cable car service from Central District to the Peak since 1888. Hong Kong Tramways Ltd., began its service in 1904 and covers the northern shore of Victoria with a fleet of 126 double-deck trams and 30 trailers. Bus services are run by two companies under exclusive franchises: the China Motor Bus Company on the Island and the Kowloon Motor Bus Company in Kowloon and the New Territories. Both companies were formed in 1933 following an invitation for tenders by the Hong Kong Government. The two companies now operate a total of well over 1,300 buses. The British Section of the Kowloon-Canton Railway was opened in 1910 but, since 1949, there have been no through passenger trains to Canton and passenger traffic is largely between Kowloon and towns in the New Territories. The Railway has nine locomotives, seventy carriages and 198 wagons and is the only transport undertaking owned by the government. Until the new cross-harbour road tunnel is completed, ferries provide the main link between Victoria and the mainland: the Star Ferry Company was formed in 1898 and the Hong Kong & Yaumati Ferry Company began operating passenger ferries in 1922 and the first vehicular ferry service ten years later. The Star Ferry Company now has ten vessels and the Hong Kong & Yaumati Ferry Company, which operates both vehicular and passenger ferry services across the harbour and ferry services to outlying islands, has a fleet of 67 vessels.

Demand for public transport has gone up by leaps and bounds; population increase alone, both natural and through influx of refugees, has been prodigious: in 1945 the population was just over 600,000 but, by the time of the first post-war census in 1961, it had risen to 3,133,100 and the estimated population in 1968 was 3,971,500. Even with this almost explosive expansion in the number of customers, until recent years the bus companies managed to expand their fleets and increase services fairly quickly in response to greater demand. The tramways and the railway have not been able to expand their routes largely because of the topography of the Colony and, although they are now carrying many more people than before, this has been achieved by making better use of their existing resources. The two bus companies are in a different position in that they have been able to expand their services in response to increasing demand. There was a happy situation where the prospect of increased profit was sufficient incentive for the companies to expand, and the rate of increase, although high, was such that the companies were able and willing to finance the expansion from their own resources. In 1951 the Kowloon Motor Bus Company with 180 buses carried 155.4 million passengers but by 1968 these figures had risen to 677 scheduled buses and 568.8 million passengers: the corresponding figures for the China Motor Bus Company were, in 1951, 151 buses and 46.1 million passengers and in 1968, 390 scheduled buses and 186.6 million passengers. All other transport undertakings, including the Kowloon-Canton Railway and the two major ferry companies also enjoyed substantial increases in passenger traffic.

However, demand for passenger transport has been increasing at a faster rate than population; this has come not only as a result of increased pros-

perity – over the last four years for example there has been an improvement in the real earnings of workers of 7 per cent each year – but also reflects other more significant environmental changes. Since 1956 the Hong Kong Government has been engaged in a massive public housing programme both to resettle squatters and to improve housing conditions generally. Land has always been at a premium and the housing programme has only been achieved by developing hillside sites, reclamation from the sea and the creation of satellite towns away from the main urban area. Tsuen Wan for example was a medium-sized country town of some 74,000 inhabitants in 1961 but, by 1968, it was an extensive industrial area with an estimated population of 228,000. Various government housing schemes accommodate approximately 1½ million people: not far short of 39 per cent of the total population. Private building has not lagged far behind and it would be an exaggeration to estimate that more than five out of every ten people have moved house in the past fifteen years and, for most of them, this has meant being further away from work or school and places of entertainment. This dispersal of population has created new demands for transport: labour in Hong Kong is quite mobile but not so flexible that jobs can be readily changed for employment near to the new home. The same applies to some extent to education.

The rapid expansion of industry has also made increased demands on public transport. Before 1949 Hong Kong's economy was predominantly that of the entrepôt port: trading and the ancillary service industries were then more important than manufacturing. Political events in East Asia after 1949 resulted in the Colony having to look more to its own resources to maintain a livelihood and Hong Kong's economy now largely depends on exports of manufactured goods. In 1953 the value of domestic exports was $HK 2,733 million (£ST 171 million): by 1968 this had risen to $HK 8,428 million (£ST 579 million). Obviously with this increase there has been a great demand for factory space and the introduction of modern manufacturing methods has meant larger units. While the traditional family workshop business with domestic and working accommodation in the same building is still a common feature, the growth industries have been the highly mechanised units requiring large factories and most of the new factories, because of the shortage of land, have been established in the outlying towns, Tsuen Wan, Kwai Chung and Kwun Tong. Although the new towns are not merely trading estates and each has large resident populations, accommodation near to the place of work is not possible for many employees and traffic between the main urban area of Kowloon and the new towns has become particularly heavy.

The problem of getting children to school and workers to work is such that many schools and factories have to provide their own transport, as the services of the public transport undertakings have become more crowded.

In recent years, as demand for transport could not be fully met by the bus companies, various forms of illegal public transport crept in where they could. Private cars and small vans carrying up to nine passengers provided a "pirate" service which increased particularly during 1967 when the services of the two bus companies were seriously depleted as a result of strikes associated with the political confrontation of that year. The "pirate" services thrived

and by 1969 it was estimated that some half a million passengers were being carried in this form of transport each day. In fact the "pirate" minibus, because of its flexibility of operation, proved to be a popular form of transport giving a service to the individual that was somewhat better than the regular bus and much less expensive than a taxi. The value of this new form of public transport has now been recognized and, in 1969, the "pirate" minibus was made legal and some 2,500 vehicles were registered in a new class of vehicle – the public light bus. Apart from some restrictions, the operators are free to ply for hire and carry up to 14 passengers.

Unlike many other major cities of the world, public transport in Hong Kong has been able to operate without the direct involvement of government departments. With the exception of the Kowloon-Canton Railway, all the public transport undertakings are in the hands of private enterprise and, so long as the operators were able to meet public demand for cheap and reasonably efficient services and at the same time remain profitable, the government had little to worry about in this field beyond negotiating the renewal of franchises, taking into account public transport needs when building new roads and piers and offering advice to the companies on the expansion of their services. This unusual situation was not to last; the profitability of the transport undertakings has in recent years been progressively reduced and operating costs, particularly in wage bills, have increased while the fare structure has remained unchanged. With the exception of a small increase by the Star Ferry Company none of the other undertakings has had any increases in fares for over twenty years and the public have come to regard this situation as one that should stay: the increase made by the Star Ferry of 5¢ (about ¾d sterling) in 1966 for First Class fares resulted in sporadic minor riots for a few days, and any suggestion of fare increases by other undertakings immediately brings forth emotionally worded petitions and dire warnings of civil disturbance. Fares are in fact incredibly low; a tram ride of nearly seven miles can be had for 10¢ (about 1¼d sterling) and for most of the urban area the average bus fare is less than 5¢ per mile. The fare for the longest scheduled bus route, from Kowloon to Un Long, is only $1.00 (1s 4½d sterling) for a distance of 25 miles. Ferry fares are also low, 20¢ or 25¢ First Class and 10¢ Second Class for the cross-harbour journey. With fares as low as this it is quite remarkable that the undertakings have been able to remain profitable and to expand their services in the way they have. However, with profitability going down, the companies have been less willing to expand their activities, their ability to expand from their own resources has decreased and, with the possibility that increases in fares will be frustrated or at least delayed by political considerations, the companies have become less attractive to the private investor.

The problem of increasing the services of the two enfranchised bus companies in the face of decreasing profitability, increasing traffic congestion and an understandable reluctance to commit financial resources to capital expansion, is one that inevitably brings government into greater involvement with public transport.

One way or another public transport has to be paid for by the community and in deciding how this is to be done government policy has to take public

opinion into account. Public opinion finds many means of expression and there has developed a varied mixture of pressure groups and advisory bodies, which are always ready to make their views known. The drawback is that by heeding the cries from the market place the more vociferous members of the community can be attributed with more importance than they really deserve. However, as a means of sifting public comment, the officially appointed advisory committee has developed into a useful part of the administrative structure and, when the membership of a committee is a careful balance of the various interests involved, including known critics of government, the advisory committee can, to some degree, carry out the functions of an elective body.

Public transport being a subject of particular and emotive public interest, advisory committees were introduced into the machinery at an early stage. Initially there were two committees, the Advisory Committee on Public Transport formed in 1961 and the Traffic Advisory Committee, both having ex-officio members from the responsible government departments and unofficial appointed members. The two committees were merged in 1965 when changes in the administration of transport matters were introduced. Before 1965 statutory responsibilities for transport, roads and traffic were exercised by different government departments but there was no focal point in the administrative structure where transport problems could be examined as a whole, policy formulated and activities properly co-ordinated. A passenger transport survey was then under way and the fact that other important surveys such as the mass transport study were contemplated, underlined the need for a single, central, advisory group on transport policy. The reports resulting from the various studies required appraisal by a body which was not narrowly confined to a single field of transport policy. There was also a need for a more balanced economic approach to transport problems to enable the merits of different schemes to be compared. Consequently in December 1965 a separate Transport Office was created and the Transport Advisory Committee was formed, replacing the Advisory Committees on Public Transport and Traffic.

The Transport Office was a branch of the Colonial Secretariat and in December 1966 the Commissioner for Transport took over all the responsibilities for vehicle licensing and the issue of driving licences which had previously been a function exercised by the Commissioner of Police under the Road Traffic Ordinance. The powers were formally transferred by the Transport (Transfer of Powers) Ordinance 1967 and the Road Traffic (Amendment) Ordinance 1967.

After taking over these statutory functions the office expanded into a sizeable executive unit of government as it retained its original functions of a secretariat for the Transport Advisory Committee and the responsibility for advising and assisting all public transport operators in improving standards of efficiency and service. As a result of this expansion the Transport Office became a new department of government in December 1968 under the control of the Commissioner for Transport who is responsible for giving advice on future transport requirements, general liaison duties with the public transport companies so as to co-ordinate their activities in the best

interests of the public, carrying out various statutory duties, and co-ordinating the activities of the various government departments which affect traffic and transport arrangements within the Colony, other than those matters concerning international overseas traffic for which the Director of Civil Aviation and the Director of Marine are responsible.

Although the government was not until recently greatly involved in the actual operation of public transport undertakings, this does not mean that problems have been ignored. The Public Works Department both in carrying out improvements to existing roads and in the planning and construction of new roads has to consider both generally and particularly the use of roads by the transport undertakings, and there is now a separate Highways Engineering Division in the Department. In 1964 a Passenger Transport Survey Unit was established with assistance from the British Road Research Laboratory. The function of this unit was to obtain factual information about passenger movements in the Colony and to determine the likely influence of future developments on the pattern of movements, to keep the requirements of public transport under continuous review and to forecast the lines along which future traffic patterns are likely to develop. The initial survey report was completed and published in 1966 and it was followed by two other important reports prepared by outside consultants, the Mass Transport Survey and the Long Term Road Study Report in which estimates were given of traffic demand up to 1986 and proposals were put forward for road development based on the assumption that there will be a mass transit system and continued use of conventional public transport. These reports provide the basis for the current programme of planning and development of Hong Kong's internal communications.

The next few years will bring the new Transport Department, the Public Works Department and the Traffic Police many problems. Ways and means will have to be found to allow the bus companies to expand their services to cope with increasing demand. Adjustments have already been made in the royalty payments made by one of the bus companies but this form of financial assistance is limited and will end once the royalty is abolished completely, and the problem will then become one of facing the unpopular decision to increase fares or of giving some form of assistance from public funds. Somewhat similar situations may face the two ferry companies when the new cross-harbour road tunnel comes into operation in 1972. At present the larger of the two companies operates two very profitable vehicular ferry services and to some extent these services subsidise other passenger ferries; competition with the tunnel could mean either fare increases or financial assistance to ferry services.

Approval to the grant of a franchise to the Victoria City Development Company for the construction and operation of a road tunnel from Victoria to Kowloon was given in 1965. There was some difficulty in financing this project and during the troubled times in 1967 there was doubt as to whether private finance would ever be forthcoming. Nevertheless the Cross Harbour Tunnel Company (successors to Victoria City) have secured sufficient investment and work started on the tunnel in September 1969. Apart from affecting the ferries, the tunnel will have considerable effect on travel patterns

and bus routes which are at present largely focussed on the ferry piers as terminal points. Although new roads at the approaches to the tunnel are already under construction, it will be difficult to organize the tunnel traffic within the framework of a road system evolved in times when the main road traffic requirement was access to cross-harbour ferry piers.

The extent to which surface transport will be able to cope with expanding demands is limited; even with a major road-building programme and the cross-harbour tunnel the continuing increase in the number of vehicles will bring about a situation where geography will preclude any substantial increase in the capacity of the roads, and delays through traffic congestion will make expansion of bus or tram fleets of little value. Already by 1969 there were 183 vehicles to every mile of road: a figure only exceeded by Monaco and Gibraltar. From 1959 to 1968 the number of registered vehicles of all kinds increased from 39,620 to 109,654. With the prospect of the road system becoming more and more congested, the Hong Kong Government commissioned the mass transport study and from this came a recommendation for a rapid rail transit system covering the urban areas of Hong Kong Island and Kowloon and beyond as far as Tsuen Wan, the largest of the new towns in the New Territories. The capital cost of such a system is greater than any other single undertaking ever carried out in the Colony and, if it is built, it is possible that public enterprise will have to step in where private enterprise will, for once, fear to tread. Whatever the next few years may bring, it is fairly certain that the increasing complexity of urban life will mean that, even in a "citadel" of free enterprise, there will be an increase in government participation one way or another in the field of public transport.

The gradual evolution of transport services through the phases of private enterprise, enfranchised monopoly and subsidised service to public corporations has, of course, happened in many countries to the extent that it is often regarded as an inevitable process. Perhaps it is, but Hong Kong is, in so many ways, unique and it has in the past shown such a distinct capacity for solving its problems in contradiction to what has been done elsewhere, that it would not be surprising to find that the Colony can come up with yet another unusual solution – this time to the problem of public transport.

The Indian Administrative Service Milieu, Challenges and Response

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PUBLIC bureaucracy is a very important factor in social and economic progress in developing countries. Great tasks of nation-building are performed by the bureaucracy acting as an instrument of change. Even those political leaders who started with an anti-bureaucratic approach during the struggle for national freedom came to depend more and more on the bureaucracy for the implementation of public policies for national reconstruction and economic development.

In this connection it is important to ask whether the bureaucratic structure inherited by the developing countries is suitable for the new tasks created by the new milieu. Was the "law and order" bureaucracy capable of adapting itself to the new tasks and challenges faced by the national government? The answer is that adaptation and adjustment were not smooth processes. There were many bottlenecks and problem-areas concerning the adjustment of the bureaucracy to the new political framework. How the bureaucracy responded to the new environment and the kinds of stresses and strains created by this new environment for the higher civil services are the questions to be examined here in the context of the Indian experience of today.

All the indicators of backwardness were present in India when she won her independence in 1947. India was a backward agricultural country, with a weak industrial base, low incomes, low level of consumption, low gross unemployment and under-employment, low capital formation and a lack of fruitful channels of investment. To overcome this backwardness and to accelerate the tempo of economic development, as well as to augment the resources for the diversification of the economy, a system of "planned economy" was adopted by the Indian government. The goals and aspirations of the society were enshrined in successive Five Year Plans.

Chapter I of the Third Five Year Plan states the objectives of planned development:

> ". . . ever since independence two main aims have guided India's planned development – to build up by democratic means a rapidly expanding and technologically progressive economy and a social order based on justice and offering equal opportunity to every citizen. To change a traditional society into a dynamic one, in a country with a vast population rooted in the past, is a tremendous task. To do this through

* The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable comments he received from Dr. Robert D. Putnam, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, while he was preparing this article.

peaceful and democratic means and by the consent of the people, makes this task even more difficult.

Through planned development, therefore, the growth of industry has to be speeded and economic progress accelerated. In particular, heavy industries and machine-making industries have to be developed, the public sectors expanded and a large and growing co-operative sector built up."[1]

The administrative machinery of the country was involved in the total national effort to provide "sound foundations for sustained economic growth, for increasing opportunities for gainful employment, and improving living standards and working conditions of the masses."[2]

The strength of the Indian Administrative Service is an indication of the expanding activities of the "administrative State" in India. The total size of the Indian Civil Service (ICS) at the time of India's independence was over 1,150 of whom some 550 were indigenous and the remainder British. After independence some 450 civil servants remained in India, only 33 of them British.[3] In 1963 the total strength of the Indian Administrative Service officers in service was nearly 2,000, and the sanctioned strength a further 275. The annual recruitment to the Indian Administrative Service has increased from 33 new members in 1947 to 138 in 1965, and the present target is 160.

Thus the milieu in which the public services in India are operating is characterised by the expanding activities of the State, and by democratic control of the services. In this context, it is worth analysing the character of the Indian Administrative Service, and the challenges which it is facing.

One of the most important legacies from the British to India is the Indian Administrative Service modelled, as Philip Woodruf[4] and others have shown, on the pattern of the Administrative class in Britain.

A few assumptions underlying the organisation of this service need to be clearly mentioned at the outset. Entry to the service is by an All-India competitive examination held by the Union Public Service Commission for the purpose of attracting outstanding young university graduates in the 21-24 age group. Every year more than 4,000-6,000 candidates compete for about 90 to 120 vacancies[5].

After entering the service, the members of the Indian administrative cadre[6] hold a variety of important administrative jobs at the district level, and in state and central government secretariats. There is no specific job description for this service – the IAS officer is the generalist *par excellence*. There is no

[1] Third Five Year Plan: Government of India: Planning Commission, p. 4, 7. Also refer to A. H. Hanson, *The Process of Planning: A study of India's Five-Year Plans*. 1950-1969. (Oxford University Press, London, 1966).

[2] Third Five Year Plan: *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[3] See Ralph Braibanti (Ed.) *Main Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, Duke University Press, Durham, N.C. 1966, p. 645-46.

[4] Philip Woodruf, *The Men who Ruled India*, Johnathan Cape, London, 2 vols.

[5] See annual reports of the Union Public Service Commission, Government of India Press, New Delhi.

[6] The Indian Administrative Service is popularly known as IAS and henceforth will be cited as such in this article.

important governmental position from which an IAS man is barred – from agriculture to industry, from commerce and trade to banking and foreign exchange, from transport to broadcasting, from defence to peace negotiations – he is the key figure. Further, in the administrative hierarchy, the IAS is at the top *vis-à-vis* all other classes of the Indian Public Service. By virtue of this status, the IAS always occupies the highest administrative positions, both in the field and at headquarters, and is nearest to the crucial decision-making centres of power. The members of this service come into direct contact with the public and political leadership. The two most crucial positions in the Indian administration, district collector and secretary to the Government, are occupied by the IAS. The IAS secretary of a department is the sole channel of communication between the minister, with whom he is in direct contact, and the department. Even on important and highly technical schemes of a specialised kind, the IAS Secretary must be satisfied before he advises the minister on policy choices.

This central position of the IAS raises questions: What kind of people are attracted to this service? What is their socio-economic background? Is the IAS capable of performing administrative jobs which are becoming highly technical and specialised? Has the service adjusted to the democratic controls exercised by the people's representatives? What is the image of this service in the eyes of the people whom it is supposed to serve? These questions need to be answered to understand more fully the role of the Indian bureaucracy in the political development of the country. If the IAS is manned by a particular segment of society, the much talked of concept of "representative bureaucracy" falls flat. If the IAS has not been able to adjust itself properly to the demands of political leadership, then the political system is at a stage of evolution where an equilibrium of its various forces is yet to be achieved. If the IAS has not been able to develop good working relations with the other services, especially the technical or specialised ones, it means that the bureaucratic machine is suffering from important tensions which must affect its operating efficiency in the long run. If the image of the IAS among the general public is not a happy one, it could create communication problems between the administration and the citizen. In the absence of good rapport, the citizens are likely to resist the important programming of nation-building or community development undertaken by the IAS. Under such circumstances the IAS would not be likely to succeed in mobilising the community and winning its participation in the processes of development.

Of 237 IAS recruits in the two years 1966-7 and 1968-9 over 70 per cent came from an urban background, almost all had more than a simple BA degree, Delhi University provided 25 per cent, and three other Oxbridges a similar percentage: nearly 50 per cent had gained experience in teaching at College or University level; only 20 per cent had fathers whose occupation was agriculture.[7] To sum up, urban candidates with high University qualifications and previous experience of some profession, whose parents are employed in the modern professions, have a greater chance of success in the

[7] A similar picture was drawn in the author's article on the Higher Civil Service in India published in the October 1969 issue of the *Journal of Administration Overseas*.

IAS examination. Because of this socio-economic background, the IAS are considered an elite group in Indian society.[8]

All sorts of generalisations are made on the basis of the socio-economic background of the IAS. For instance, A. H. Hanson, while studying Indian Administration in relation to economic planning commented:

> "It (IAS) is too remote, too cut off by educational background and manners of living from the great majority of the community, to be fully effective either as a means of group-consultation or as a listening post".[9]

The data regarding the socio-economic background of the IAS has been presented to show the kind of people who are India's administrators. This data is relevant when we study the Minister-Civil Service relationship, which is another challenge of the new milieu.

The greatest challenge for the higher civil servant in India in the new milieu is his relationship with the political leadership at the central, state and local level. During the pre-independence period, the civil service was accountable within the bureaucratic hierarchy only. Thus, popular control and pressures were not a problem for the civil servant. But after independence, this became a most acute problem. The bureaucracy was called upon to work within the framework of democratic controls. At the same time, popularly elected ministers had come to power with notions which sometimes conflicted with the ideas of a "procedure-oriented" bureaucracy. The problem of adjustment between the civil service (ICS/IAS) and the ministers was acute in the initial stages for two reasons. First, the popular leaders, who became ministers, had been trained at a time when the bureaucracy was quite unpopular. The civil service was considered unpatriotic and a tool of the metropolitan power. Many of the struggles of Indian leadership during the pre-independence period were directed against bureaucratic highhandedness. This anti-bureaucracy psychology was not easily changed. Secondly, the civil servants had to become accustomed to working under the people's representatives. A bureaucracy which was not used to such controls needed time to adjust itself. A. D. Gorwala, who was commissioned to examine the Indian administration, submitted the following typical case in his report on Public Administration to the Planning Commission of the Government of India in 1951:

> "It is related of a certain Collector that a member of a local Legislature appeared before him and made a request. The Collector said he would let him have an answer after two days. Two days later, he explained to the Member of the Local Assembly very politely why his request could not be accepted, and how, if it was, various other people would be detrimentally affected. The M.L.A. with equal politeness asked if he could use his telephone. Permission being given, he phoned the Minister and said that he had made this request and had been given this answer, that he was naturally very disappointed and trusted the Minister would

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[8] Refer to: Richard P. Taub; *Bureaucrats Under Stress: Administrators and Administration in an Indian State.* University of California Press, 1969, especially Chapter VI, p. 60-88. D. N. Rao, "Disparities of Representation among the Direct Recruits to the IAS", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, IX, January-March 1963, p. 88-99.

[9] A. H. Hanson, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

take the necessary action. He then handed over the telephone to the Collector saying the Minister wished to speak to him. The Minister said he knew the facts of the case and desired that what the M.L.A. asked should be done. The Collector hesitated, suggested sending him the papers for consideration and attempted to argue. The Minister was adamant and ended the conversation by saying, 'Well you know my views. You can do what I want or ——— —.' The Collector in this case decided to do what the Minister wanted and passed the orders accordingly. The story came out through the M.L.A. who used it to let his friends and constituents know how collectors should be dealt with."[10]

Paul H. Appleby in his report quotes one eminent and able official as saying: "The extent to which there is graft or corruption is wholly within the responsibility of ministers,"[11] and all the twenty ex-ICS contributors to the *Civil Servant in India*, have expressed views about the maladjustment of relations between the higher civil service and the political leadership.[12]

The story of the resignations of N. Baksi and Dr. Nabgopal Das from the Indian Civil Service provides further insight into the conflict between the civil service and the political leadership. Baksi, who disagreed with the political leadership which he thought was using pressure to get the wrong things from the administration, wrote in his letter of resignation, "my spirit was not in harmony with the official environment of my life."[13]

Nabgopal Das resigned because, so he claimed, the Chief Minister often interfered in administrative matters and "would often impatiently brush aside advice given by senior officers." Das further writes;

> "The climax came in 1958 when, as special Secretary, Home Department, in charge of anti-corruption and the enforcement of some special laws, I started submitting reports on corruption and other mal-practices in high places and desired that action be taken against certain individuals. A gentle hint was given to me that I should go slow with these enquiries. I was even promised a better assignment if only I would be a little more accommodating. Unfortunately, I was far too pig-headed to listen to such counsel. The result was a virtual deadlock."[14]

The above representative opinions showing conflict between the two wings of the government, political leadership and permanent career service, require further probing.

It must be stated here that the relationship between the two may be any one of the following types:

(a) The Minister and higher civil servant have adjusted very well; both work on the basis of rules, and are fair and impartial. Each respects

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[10] A. D. Gorwala, *Report on Public Administration*. Government of India; Planning Commission, December 1953, p. 24-25.

[11] Paul H. Appleby, Consultant in Public Administration; *Public Administration in India; Report of a Survey*, Government of India Publication, Manager of Publications, New Delhi, 1953, p. 48.

[12] Kewal L. Panjabi, (ed.) *The Civil Servant in India*; Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1965.

[13] N. Baksi, "The Bihar – The State of my Adoption", in Kewal L. Panjabi, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[14] Nabgopal Das, "My Life in the ICS", in Kewal L. Panjabi, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-4.

the viewpoint of the other, and a good working relationship has developed between the two.

(b) The civil servant is known to have taken a bold stand which resulted in a difference of opinion with the minister. In these cases the minister appreciated the administrator's viewpoint, and the two arrived at an agreed solution.

(c) The minister and civil servant do not agree, and a parting of the ways seems to be the only solution.

(d) The civil servant succumbs to the pressures, and realizes that in postings and promotions, the minister's opinion counts; he becomes a "yes man" and a faithful follower. Kewal Panjabi refers to the conduct of certain higher civil servants who had a "spirit of careerism." He says: "They were quick to do what they felt would please the chief. They would even consult the minister before framing their proposals to Government. Their amenability was rewarded by special assignments."[15]

(e) The minister is averse to "form" and "routine." He believes in quick disposal of work, and finds it difficult to work with "procedure oriented" officials, preferring instead "action oriented" or "goal oriented" civil servants. The late Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister of Panjab, was a very well-known example of this type of minister.

(f) Conflict may arise between the minister and the civil servant over the correct interpretation of departmental policy. Since all instructions cannot be given in writing, the result is that some matters are left to individual judgment and interpretation. Sometimes this leads to the charge by the ministers that the civil servants are not following the policy and are not co-operative. The two most prominent illustrations of this kind of conflict should be mentioned here. The Finance Minister, when resigning in 1958 on the issue of "Life Insurance Corporation Investment into Mundhra concerns," charged on the floor of Parliament that the principal finance secretary had not implemented the minister's policy properly. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the former Finance Minister of India said:

> "It is for the House to judge, in the light of all that I have said, whether the officers concerned had acted in accordance with established or accepted policy of the government and also if the necessary specific sanction in relation to the Life Insurance Corporation for the actual purchase put through had been secured. Naturally the facts within my knowledge that I have stated above will determine the extent of my responsibility. This I must submit, did not factually attract my responsibility."[16]

When law and order broke down in Delhi in 1966, the Home Minister in his letter of resignation to the Prime Minister charged that his senior civil servants were not co-operating in the proper

[15] Kewal L. Panjabi, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[16] *Lok Sabha Debates*, (Second Series) 18th February, 1958, col. 1290-91; also refer to: R. J. Venkateswaran, *op. cit.* pp. 73-93.

implementation of policies. Mr. G. L. Nanda, the former Home Minister of India, wrote in his letter of resignation that:

> "On a number of occasions I brought to your notice that I was not getting adequate Secretarial assistance. I wanted the set-up to be suitably strengthened. All these appeals were ignored. Devoid of adequate political support at the level of my ministry, and devoid of the kind of assistance and co-operation I needed from a civil service set-up not in tune with my ideas, I was made to feel that I had no say in the making of decisions at policy-making level."[17]

(g) Temperamental differences between the minister and the civil service are another important source of such conflict. This factor was responsible for a very serious controversy in the Indian administration, when the Chief of the Army Staff resigned on September 1, 1959 because he could not "temperamentally" get on with the Defence Minister and "also because he (the minister) kept unearthly hours of work, frequently called him for consultations on unimportant issues during the hours of his relaxation . . ."[18]

Often a request by the minister to his officials to expedite matters, and even to waive some of the procedural formalities, is popularly misinterpreted as "ministerial interference." Indian bureaucracy is notoriously slow moving, and a plethora of procedures creates many bottlenecks. To get justice from the civil service, the common man approaches his elected representative to intervene over the "chronic disease of secretariat men, logorrhoea." In India there is a great gap between the highly educated, urban, sophisticated higher civil service and the poor, illiterate, rural teeming millions – and the minister has to work as an intermediary because he has his hand on the pulse of both the common man and the bureaucrat.

Further, in a "prismatic society" prismoidal relations play a very important role.[19] People expect that their representatives, who are their caste or religious or provincial members, will help them in getting things done by the administration. Political leaders sometimes find it difficult to belie the expectations of their kith and kin.

Moreover, in a democracy a minister has to care for his political support-base. In India, a Cabinet Minister of the Central Government needs a pyramidal support-base – at the constituency, state and central levels. Thus he is involved in many local problems which are not his direct concern as a minister, but he must use the prestige of his office to help his local constituents, the members of the Legislative Assembly of his constituency, and his state. Many conflicts arise between the Central Cabinet Ministers and the civil servants because the ministers have to look towards the interests of their constituents and party followers. Ministers depend on votes and votes

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[17] Letter of resignation, *Indian Express*, New Delhi, 10th November, 1966.

[18] Refer to: Lt. General B. M. Kaul; *The Untold Story*, Allied Publishers, Delhi, 1967, p. 219; also refer to *Lok Sabha Debates*, (Second Series) 2nd September, 1959, Col. 5852-55.

[19] See Fred W. Riggs; *Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Primitive Society* (Houghton Mittlin, Boston, U.S.A., 1964).

depend on the capacity to get things done. Thus, the sociological factor of the role of primordial loyalties and the political factor of keeping his supporters happy lead the minister both to pressurize the administration and to act in an extra-procedural fashion.

In addition, money plays a very important role in speeding administrative decisions in India. The extent and magnitude of corruption in the civil service in India can only be guesswork[20] but some illustrations are to be found in the fifth annual report of the central vigilance commission for the year ending March 1969. Action ranging from warning to dismissal from the service was recommended by the commission in cases of corruption against the following officials of various departments of the Government of India.

Table of Corruption Cases[21]

	Number of officials found corrupt	
Department	*(Gazetted) higher civil service*	*(Non-Gazetted) subordinate service*
Defence Ministry	46	214
Income Tax Department	20	20
Customs and Central Excise	20	223
Railway Department	41	1,134
Posts and Telegraphs	12	1,051
Foreign Trade and Supply	16	23
Works and Housing	23	120

Those who cannot afford to pay money to the administrators to get things done, or who fail to get things done with the help of money, use the influence and prestige of the minister to influence the civil service.

It is sometimes pointed out that the maladjustment between the minister and the civil service is also due to the different socio-economic background of the two.[22]

From the point of view of educational attainments there is no difference between the IAS and the Cabinet Ministers of the Central Government. Between 1952 and 1967 the number of Cabinet Ministers and State Ministers varied between 28 and 30 and throughout these years only one minister lacked a University Degree. Not only this. The Central Cabinet had a galaxy of foreign-trained barristers, former judges, eminent academicians, Ph.D.'s and D. Litt's, and eminent scientists and technologists. On purely educational criteria, the Cabinet Ministers had a higher level of education than did any group of their civil servants.

These ministers not only possessed very high educational qualifications, but they also had had a rich experience of public life during the struggle for

[20] See *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, 1964.

[21] Refer to the Summary of Report: *The Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 8th September, 1969, p. 9. Columns 2-3.

[22] David C. Potter suggests this approach to the problem in Bureaucratic Change in India by Ralph Braibanti, (ed.) Asian Bureaucratic Systems, *op. cit.* p. 165.

independence, and had enjoyed high esteem in the public mind during pre-independence days. Thus, at least at the central government level, the problems of the minister-civil service relationship do not arise because of differing educational backgrounds. The conflict is because the two – minister and civil servent – have different goals and ideas. The civil servant thinks that rules and procedures are sacrosanct. A political leader thinks that looking after the interests of his constituency or party is his legitimate function. A political leader is in a hurry to get things done in a few years so that people will renew his mandate. The only basis of his power is the people. Unless he can show some concrete results, some achievements, he may find it difficult ever to return to power again. A civil servant, having job security, creates a plethora of procedures and behaves very cautiously. Sometimes this results in the slow movement of the administrative machinery. In turn, the impatient political leader resents this and clashes with members of the civil service.

Another dimension of the minister – civil service relationship is whether the minister is able to provide administrative leadership. Is he skilled enough to run the administration? If a minister is not skilled or competent, the result may be the paralysis of the department or unlimited growth in the powers of bureaucracy. Neither of these situations is good for a healthy democracy. The answer to this question – whether ministers are capable persons – depends to some extent on what the civil servants think about the ministers, or what image the civil servant has of his minister.

In the early years after independence civil servants were sceptical about the capacity of ministers to manage state affairs, but with more experience of working together, these opinions tended to change.

Richard Taub put the question to the IAS of Orissa; "Do you think politicians in Orissa do as good a job as they might, or is there room for improvement?". Replies were received from only 28 IAS members and these varied very considerably, if, expectedly, the majority tended to be critical.[23]

S. P. Desai, a former ICS official, expressed the same critical opinion voiced by other officials in private. He observes:

> "But what made the matter really worse was the tremendous strain put on the (administrative) machinery by (1) the enactment of numerous laws difficult to enforce and (2) the insistence of politicians with very little experience of administration on the officers giving priority to their pet schemes and policies in the name of the welfare state."

He further complains that:

> "The politicians' way of leaving solutions of problems to resultants of forces or pressures is not calculated to help this matter."[24]

This discussion points to the conclusion that the higher civil service in India is in the process of adjusting to the demands of the new milieu, and its responses to the new challenges are ambivalent and confused.

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[23] Refer to Richard P. Taub. *op. cit.*, pp. 106-8.
[24] S. P. Desai: "My thirty-five years in Assam", in Kewal Panjabi, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.

Another aspect of the challenge of the new milieu is the relationship between the "generalist" civil service and the technical specialists in Indian administration. In order to operate government-owned steel plants, heavy engineering and machine-tool factories, the petro-chemical industries, a large number of technical specialists are now employed by the government departments. The "generalist" civil service did not face any comparable inter-service conflict during the pre-independence era because the government was concerned with only a few functions of law and order, the collection of revenue and limited public utility functions. At that time the professionals and highly qualified technicians were not needed or employed in large numbers by the Government. When rapid industrialisation became the goal of the country, the Government established new ministries and departments dealing with only technical and specialised problems. But the position of the "generalist" was not disturbed. In the ministry concerned with highly complicated technological problems, the post of secretary (the highest administrative position in the ministry) is occupied by the generalist civil servant. Whether it is the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals, Oil and Natural Resources, Irrigation and Power, Works and Housing, Iron and Steel or Mines and Metals, the post of secretary – the chief adviser to the minister on policy formulation – is reserved for the generalist civil servant. Not only is he expected to formulate the policy of these departments, about which he has no specialised knowledge, but also he is, in the administrative hierarchy, superior to all the technical personnel. All files, papers and schemes of development have to go to the secretary, and the technical personnel have to convince the secretary of the importance of a scheme or a programme. After the secretary is convinced, he advises the minister on a policy decision. While advising the minister, he may express a point of view which is counter to the recommendations of the specialist, and thus may influence the minister to arrive at a decision contrary to the needs and requirements of the technical personnel.

Why cannot the technical personnel be appointed as secretaries of those departments that deal with technical problems? Why cannot they be trusted to advise the minister directly? Why cannot the administration of at least the technical departments be conducted without the "generalists"? Specialists resent the great power enjoyed by the "generalists", which is disproportionate to their technical competence. Since the technical personnel are not in direct contact with the minister, they are not able to influence the policy-making process effectively. The secretary, who is nearest to the seat of power, and whose contact with the minister is direct and intimate, has a great advantage over his technical colleagues.

It is argued in favour of the "generalist" civil servants that they have a rich background of experience of various administrative positions and that they can view things in a broader perspective. The argument of the specialist is that it is not the perspective, but an understanding of technical complexities which is needed in administrative decision-making; and this is precisely what the generalist administrator lacks. It is suggested that modern administration cannot be run on the basis of broad perspective alone. A steel plant needs a chairman who knows how the steel is manufactured, and not the generalist

civil servant who might never have been exposed to technical aspects of the steel plant.

In this inconclusive debate, it is further argued that a minister needs a generalist secretary who can translate to him in non-technical language, the technical advice of the specialist. After all, the minister himself is a generalist. The reply of the specialists to this argument is that if they can communicate properly on technical matters with the generalist secretary, why should they have difficulty in communicating directly with the generalist minister? This lengthy argument has been presented to show the conflict which exists in the bureaucratic structure of India between the generalist higher civil service and the technical personnel who are pressing their claim for recognition and power in the administration.[25]

In England attempts were made to resolve this conflict between the generalist and specialist by experimenting with "separate", "parallel" and integrated hierarchies. But the problem remains unresolved.

The higher civil service in India has not only to adjust to the demands and pressures of political control. It has also to take care of challenges thrown by the specialists in the administration.

In summing up, a few questions can be posed about the future. Indian politics is becoming more competitive, with the result that political leaders trained in the politics of opposition are called upon to run the government. The Indian bureaucracy will have to adjust to these new leaders who till yesterday were only opposing the government. This phenomenon of the new political parties entering the arena of power will put new strains of adjustment on the bureaucracy. For twenty years, the bureaucracy was trying to adjust to the politics of one political party only. Now it will have to adjust to the politics of multi-party rule. The assumption that bureaucracy is "neutral" in political conflicts is on trial. The Indian sub-continent will be watched with interest to see whether bureaucracy can serve any political party loyally and unreservedly.

Indian society is entering an era of acute conflict in the social, economic and political spheres. There is no consensus on fundamentals. Extreme political groups are competing for political power. In this atmosphere of political competition, whether the higher civil service remains neutral or becomes partisan will be well worth future study.

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[25] Refer to *Report of the Administrative Reform Committee*, Government of Rajasthan, Government Central Press, Jaipur, 1963, pp. 62-3. R. P. Khosala; *Future of Generalist*; *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIV (1968) pp. 39-55. In Britain also this controversy is going on, on similar lines. F. F. Ridley, (ed.) *Specialists and Generalists*; Barnes and Noble Inc., New York, 1968; and discussion on Fulton Report in *Public Administration* (London) Spring 1969, Vol. 47, pp. 1-63.

The Sudan Gezira Scheme
Some Institutional and Administrative Aspects

By H. M. M. KHALIL

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THIS paper does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of the great Gezira Board Scheme; it is just a reasoned description of this unique enterprise to show how it works and how it is administered as an ideal triple share-cropping arrangement.

In order to demonstrate and clarify the importance of this scheme to the country, it is essential first to give a brief idea about the country of the Sudan, its people and their mode of living.

The Sudan is "Africa in miniature"; it is large (1,000,000 square miles) with infinite variations from sandy deserts to sub-tropical forests. Its northern frontier starts in an almost rainless zone on the edge of the Sahara desert; its southern frontier is in tropical forest adjoining the Congo. Through this vast area the river Nile forces its way northward to Egypt; the White Nile flows from beyond Lake Victoria through Lakes Kioga and Albert to traverse the Sudan from Nimule to Wadi Halfa, a distance of about 2,500 miles.

In its journey northwards it is enriched by the floods of the Sobat, Blue Nile and Atbara rivers. These flow from the mountains of Ethiopia from which comes more than 80 per cent of the Nile discharge.

As the country varies the people themselves vary also. The inhabitants are of different origins, different customs, traditions and religions. Most of them live from subsistence cultivation on both sides of the river Nile; they use water wheels – *Sagia* and *Shaduf* – to raise water and irrigate their land. The rest of the population are semi-nomadic tribes shifting from one place to another depending on the availability of water and grass.

From these circumstances stemmed the need to establish a large scheme to settle these nomadic tribes and to transform others from semi-nomadic cultivators into settled farmers, and to expand the agricultural area for the benefit of the country as a whole. Therefore the Gezira Scheme, one of the largest agricultural undertakings in the world, was established.

The Establishment of the Gezira Scheme

The word "Gezira" in Arabic means "island" and it is the name given to that large and comparatively level and fertile plain which lies between the White and Blue Niles south of Khartoum and comprises an area of about five million feddans (1 *feddan* = 1.038 acres). The Scheme extends from a few

miles south of Khartoum to about twenty five miles north of Sennar; its width is variable, reaching thirty miles at its widest part. It comprises a cultivable area of about 1.1 million feddans and the south-west or Managil extension adds about 0.9 million feddans more.

Topographically the Gezira plain slopes gradually downwards from the Blue Nile whence the flood water comes. This gentle slope means that the whole area can be irrigated by gravity. So the irrigation costs in the Gezira Scheme are kept low because throughout this vast plain practically no water has to be lifted.

In 1904 Sir William Garstin, a British official of the Ministry of Public Works of Egypt, published a report recommending the building of a dam at Sennar on the Blue Nile to provide irrigation for part of the Gezira plain. In 1911, to support this idea and to test whether it was economically sound, the Sudan Government erected a pump-irrigation project to grow long staple cotton at Tayiba on the Blue Nile north of Wad-Medani. Since the Government at that time did not possess the necessary personnel, it made an approach to the Sudan Plantation Syndicate to take responsibility for the management of the new Tayiba project. After an exploratory visit to the Gezira, the Syndicate accepted the offer and extended its operations to the new Tayiba Scheme.

About that time representations were made to the British Government to finance the building of the Sennar dam and the necessary canal network, but before any progress could be made the First World War intervened and no construction could be undertaken.

In 1922, new contracts for the construction of the dam and the main irrigation canals were signed and three years later the dam was officially opened.

But although the problem of providing the scheme with water had been solved, there were still many other difficulties of both a social and agricultural nature. First there was the question of landownership; then came other problems such as persuading conservative people to accept a complete change in their pattern of life; also the raising of capital, the digging of canals and the organisation of the holdings, etc. But such problems are common to all big agricultural schemes and can be faced and overcome by competent planning and efficient administration.

The Problem of Landownership

The Sudan Land Settlement and Registration Ordinance of 1925 sets up a general, rebuttable presumption that all land in the Sudan is government land until the contrary is proved. Accordingly a survey of the Gezira was carried out from 1907 to find out "who owned what". The settlement officer, in adjudicating the claims submitted to him, found that rights of full ownership had been established and not merely rights of cultivation which would have been easier to extinguish.

By the end of the settlement exercise a register supported by a cadastral plan of all the interests in the land had been prepared. As a result, only small areas of vacant land were registered as government land and most of the land

was recognised as privately owned and registered title was given to the individual landowners. Then, according to the provisions of the Gezira Land Ordinance of 1927, the Government compulsorily leased the land from these landowners for a period of forty years with an option for renewal on expiry[1] and at an annual rent equivalent to the highest rent in operation in the area before irrigation was provided, that is 10 piastres (=two shillings) per feddan.[2]

The Government declared at that time that "both now and on any extension of the period of the tenancy the Government would not take into account any rise in the value of the land caused by the irrigation scheme". At first sight this attitude may not appear to be a fair one, but the Government rightly claimed that the provision of irrigation was in no way attributable to the owners of the land and, therefore, to pay them an inflated rental because their land had been enhanced in value owing to the planning and labour of others was in no way justified.

It is important to draw attention to the fact that although the owners are deprived of any power over the use of their land during the period of the tenancy, still their names remain on the register as owners and it was expressly declared that "during the period of the hiring the owners of the land would be at liberty, as at present, to transfer or mortgage their rights of ownership to other natives of the same locality".

In the world economic crisis in 1930 the landowners started to sell their holdings very cheaply to merchants and money-lenders. The Government took immediate action to prevent sales to other than the relatives or cultivating residents and also undertook to buy any land offered for sale. Now the percentage of land owned by Government has increased to 60.8 per cent and the percentage owned by individuals has decreased to 35 per cent. This is in the main scheme. In the Managil extension the percentage is 67.7 per cent for Government and 31 per cent for individuals.

The following schedule shows the *disposition of land rights* in both the Gezira Scheme and Managil extension up to 1965:

Gezira	*Actual figures* *Acres*	*Percentage*
Sudanese	389,909,821	35.0
Mortgages (Sudanese)	29,025,730	2.6
Government	677,248,896	60.8
Harams (precincts of villages)	15,960,347	1.5
Roads	1,595,250	0.1
Total	1,113,740,044	100.0

[1] See Annex "A".

[2] In 1930, land values reached about P.T.30 per feddan, and during the years 1933-1937 the Government bought about 120,000 feddans at the rate of P.T.60 per feddan, by voluntary purchase from the owners.

Managil	*Actual figures Acres*	*Percentage*
Sudanese[3]	294,549,162	31.00
Mortgages (Sudanese)	720,746	0.07
Government	642,714,114	67.7
Harams (precincts of villages)	11,384,143	1.2
Roads	250,743	0.03
Total	949,618,908	100.0

In addition to receiving rent for their leased land the owners have priority in the allocation of tenancies when irrigation reaches their land. They are allowed to share the profits of the scheme but as tenant-farmers and not as landowners. As a matter of fact the real compensation granted to the individual landowners in return for their land is their perpetually renewable right to annual tenancies, provided that they cultivate satisfactorily. The wisdom of this system can be clearly understood if one realises that the good-will and co-operation of the local landowners are essential to the success of the scheme.

The Administration of the Gezira under the Board

The Sudan Gezira Board came into being on 1st July 1950. It was established by law as an independent body responsible to the Government through the Minister of Finance.

The capital is loan capital borrowed from the Government in 1950 when the Board replaced the private companies. The Government bought the scheme for £S4,000,000; this being regarded as the capital. Interest at 6 per cent per annum (£S240,000) is paid to the Government by the Board.

The scheme is run as a joint account between the shareholders. In other words it is managed under the triple partnership of the Government, the tenant cultivators and the Sudan Gezira Board. Also there are other beneficiaries such as the Tenants Reserve Fund for helping the tenants in bad years, the Social Development Fund and the Local Government Councils in the Gezira.

The basic share of each is as follows:

1. The Sudan Government 36%
2. The Tenants 50% including 2% for Tenants Reserve Fund
3. The Gezira Board 10%
4. The Social Development Fund 2%
5. The Local Government Councils 2%

The part played by each of these beneficiaries may be summarised as follows:

(a) *The Government.* In return for its share (36 per cent) of the net proceeds, the Government provides the land comprising the scheme area.

[3] The number of persons each owning more than 150 feddans is only 218.

This land is either rented by Government from the original landowners or is owned by Government and was initially registered as Government land or has been later acquired by purchase.

The Government also built the dam and constructed the major and minor canals. In addition to the 1.1 million acres of the main Gezira scheme the Government developed during the years 1957-1962 an area of 950,000 acres for the south-west extension of the Managil, and it is still the duty of the Government to provide any more land required for the scheme. The Government exacts no water-rate or land tax.

(b) *The Tenants.* The land is divided into family size units among the cultivating tenants. In return for their share (50 per cent) of the net proceeds of the cotton crop the tenants undertake, usually at their own expense, to till the land, to sow, cultivate and harvest the cotton crop and to hand it over to the collecting station. These operations are carried out under the supervision and direction of the Board's field staff.

The Board deducts from the tenants' share the loans advanced to them to finance their cultivation and picking costs. In the tenants' own interests their share is paid to them in instalments over the twelve months following the harvesting of the crop. The timing and amount of these instalments have been fixed by the Minister of Finance after consultation with the Board and the Gezira Tenants' Union.

(c) *The Gezira Board.* The Board organises and manages the scheme as a whole. This includes the provision of administrative, field and accounting staff, together with housing, offices, stores, ginning factories, transport and workshops.

The size of the Board's operation can be shown partly by listing its various departments and responsibilities as follows:

Headquarters administration in Barakat, agricultural department, establishments, finance, mechanical engineering, civil engineering, agricultural engineering, social development department, Marengan and Hassahessa ginning factories, the Gezira light railway, the clearing and forwarding department, etc. The scheme employs over 10,000 people of whom 1,300 are classified officials, and it uses over 900 motor vehicles.

The Board also undertakes research into ways of improving productivity and the general stability of the scheme. It is under statutory obligation to pay to the Government an annual contribution of £7,500 for agricultural research.

With the approval of the Minister of Finance, the balance from the Board's share, after meeting its various obligations, is transferred to the Board's General Reserve.

(d) *The Tenants Reserve Fund.* This is administered by the Board and is based on communal principles. In bad years it serves as an equalisation fund to subsidise the tenants collectively. A maximum of £25 per feddan can be paid out when the level of income among the tenants is abnormally low, and all the tenants have an equal right to participate. Even a new tenant in his

first year may derive benefit from this fund, while an outgoing tenant cannot claim any individual right to a share of it on termination of his tenancy.

The fund also serves as a security to the Board for loans advanced to the tenants.

(e) *The Social Development Fund.* Two per cent for supplying social services, such as adult education, animal husbandry and installations for domestic use.

(f) *The Local Government Councils.* The Gezira and the Managil are covered by five Rural Councils, with a large majority of their members being tenants; in addition there are about 575 village councils where tenants always form the majority of members.

These Councils receive two per cent of the net proceeds because no land tax or local rates are paid by the Gezira tenants to the local councils.

All the above-mentioned beneficiaries share what remains of the gross revenue after the joint expenses have been deducted.

The joint account and the net proceeds of the cotton crop

This account is charged with all costs incurred *after* the delivery of the cotton crop by the tenant until its final disposal. It includes also the expenses of ploughing, sowing seeds, fertilizing, the collection and transport of the cotton from the fields to the ginneries, baling and classification, marketing expenses and the insurance of the crop from field to sale.

The tenants in the Gezira Scheme

The Gezira Scheme is interesting as a socio-economic experiment. It is an experiment in partnership and co-operation between three partners. It is a blend of private and state enterprise and ownership and an interesting arrangement of collectivism and individualism in which the tenants play a large part.

But who are the tenants? Indeed it is one of the extraordinary features of the tenurial arrangement of the Gezira that the original landowners may become tenant cultivators on their own lands or on any other lands in the same locality. As landowners they are not automatically partners in the scheme; they can only be partners if they become tenant cultivators.

The Gezira Ordinance provides that the landowners, in addition to their right to receive the rent, are entitled also to "yearly cultivating tenancies of as much land as they are in the opinion of the Government competent to cultivate" (section 11(1)). The said Ordinance divided the tenants into two categories, the right-holders who previously held land in the area and those who lived in the area but did not originally own land.

The right-holders. These are also of two types:

(a) The big landowners who originally owned more than 40 feddans. They are accordingly given the option to become tenant cultivators themselves or to nominate tenant cultivators on their behalf. After receiving their tenancies they are allowed to appoint their heirs and to nominate the landless who were cultivating their land so that they can receive tenancies.

(b) The smaller landowners who owned less than 40 feddans and are also entitled to a preferential tenancy, or at least half a tenancy.

The local landless cultivators. These are the second category of tenants and in most cases they receive tenancies as nominees of the big landowners.[4]

All these tenants are given a contract for the delivery of their cotton crop to the Board and, providing they comply with the reasonable orders of the Board's inspectors, this contract is renewable annually unless a notice of termination is given before 1st June.

Again it is an extraordinary feature of the tenurial situation in the Gezira that the tenants have no legislative safeguard; but in practice they are so satisfied and secure that they do not bother themselves over their rights at law. This is because of the understanding, good faith and the fair treatment they have received from the authorities.

As a matter of fact the Gezira tenant, in comparison with his fellow countrymen, is a privileged person. With the improvement of cotton yields and prices some tenants are becoming big farmers; their way of life now depends on their cash income more than their food production.

A tenancy is a family size unit but it is not usually a compact parcel of land; it may consist of separate plots.

The tenants were originally granted ten feddans of cotton on a three-fold rotation; that is thirty feddans each. Now this is changed to a four-course rotation with forty feddans per head.

Each tenant has a file number. He draws tools from the office and he is advanced loans to finance his work.

The whole scheme is divided into a number of Blocks and each block has an inspector with two or three field inspectors. Each block inspector looks after from two to ten thousand feddans of cotton. Half as much will be under Dura (sorghum) and a quarter under groundnuts; these are the tenants' own crops.

In each block there is kept a block tenant ledger with a page for each tenant, recording his plots, their location and condition. This ledger is highly important to the tenant because by reference to it he can ascertain what advances he has received, the amount of cotton he delivered to the collecting stations, etc.

The Tenants' Union. This was established by the constitution passed by the Council of Ministers in 1954. Its principal aim is to represent the Gezira tenants, to safeguard their interests and to maintain good relations between the tenants on the one side and the Board on the other. It also assists members and their families in case of illness, accident or death.

[4] The select committee set up to examine the question of the future ownership of land in the N.W. extension of the Gezira recommended that in the allocation of *hawashas* (or standard holdings) higher priority should be given to the land user and they suggest that priority in allocation should be as follows:
(1) Those who are actually cultivating the land.
(2) Inhabitants of that area who wished to cultivate a *hawasha*.
(3) Landowners. Of course if they themselves are cultivators they should be given top priority but some landowners are foreigners and not even living in the Sudan. Those would certainly not be allowed *hawashas*.

Membership is open to all registered tenants. Every 100 adjacent tenants elect a representative for the Union Congress and this Congress elects the Executive Committee.

The Board gives the Tenants' Union all possible facilities to enable it to discharge its duties, and the managers meet the representatives of the Union monthly.

The Irrigation System in the Gezira

It is important to realise that throughout the vast plain of the Gezira no water has to be lifted; the consistently gradual slope of the plain facilitates the irrigation of the whole area. So the cost of irrigation is as low as anywhere in the world.

From south to north, parallel with the Blue Nile, flows the main canal. At intervals major and minor canals are used to carry water to the fields. From the minor canals the water is fed into "*Abo Eshreen*" (=20th) and from there into "*Abo Sitta*" (6th). These are the feeder canals that cross the fields and these two Arabic words were derived from the amounts paid to Egyptian workers who excavated the canals.

The canals' maintenance and cleaning is the responsibility of the Ministry of Irrigation. All the land required for the canals was purchased by the Government in the public interest.

The Gezira Crops

The Gezira plain is famous as a vast cotton-producing area. Cotton is the basis of the whole scheme; then come other crops such as Dura, groundnuts, wheat, sugar-cane, vegetables, etc.

The Government has instituted a ten-year plan (1961/2 – 1970/1) which is fundamentally a programme of intensification and diversification of crops. The area of land under crops, other than cotton, is being increased and every effort is being made to improve the yield. Already the Gezira is no longer a single cash-crop scheme and the following figures indicate the acreages under these additional cash crops compared with those under cotton.

Crop	1962/63	1965/66	1967/68
Cotton	234,875	251,305	251,305
Dura[5]	117,486	125,713	125,713
Groundnuts	12,424	30,000	90,000
Lubia[6]	42,685	20,000	60,000
Wheat	14,369	75,000	120,000
Vegetables	11,346	20,000	30,000
Phillipesaru	—	5,000	60,000

Originally the tenants were not allowed to sell their other crops but were expected to consume them themselves. Now this has been changed and they can dispose of them in any way they wish.

[5] Sorghum Vulgare or Amillet, the staple food of the Central Sudan.
[6] Dolichos Lablab, a bean grown mainly for fodder (but also for human food).

Returning to cotton, as one always must in the Gezira, the crop is the world's second largest of the Egyptian variety known as Sakallarides. It is distinguished by its strength, brightness and durability. Three main varieties of long staple cotton are grown in the Gezira; these are Domains Sakallarides (D.S.), Black Arm Resistant (B.A.R.) and Lambert (L.).

The cotton is sold by auction at Khartoum and these auctions take place on four days every week. Recently however, the Board announced that private treaty offers for large quantities will be considered in addition to the sales at the auctions.[7]

The Gezira Light Railway

The cotton crop is transported to the local collecting stations in the field by privately owned lorries or camels. These stations are served either by the Sudan Government railway or by the Gezira Board's own light railway.

This railway was built in 1919 for transporting building materials for houses in the field. Since 1926 it has functioned as a most important means of transport with its headquarters established at Wad-Elshafie. It has now more than 23 diesel locomotives with 1,260 wagons of various capacities and weights. The present length of the track is about 771 kilometres.

The Gezira Ginneries

The Board has ten ginneries, five at Marengan and five at Hassahessa. These factories together contain at present 896 gins. They gin annually about 500,000 bales of high grade long-staple cotton.

There are also two units for cotton seed production and a third sowing gin at Barakat for ginning experimental cottons.

Labour in the Gezira

Cotton must be picked very quickly and cleanly; there is only a limited time for picking before the crop will be due for its next watering.

As a matter of fact the picking season is one of the major problems facing both the Gezira Board and the tenants. Thousands of people converge on this area in the annual struggle to pick the crop during the limited time available.

There are three categories of Gezira labourers:
Labourers employed by the Board. These are employed in the Board's workshops, ginneries and on the Gezira light railway. They make a force of about 11,000 men in permanent and semi-permanent employment and 1,390 seasonal labourers.
Labourers employed by contractors. These are normally employed for the period from January to June by the ginning contractors for outside and inside work, such as loading and off-loading. The contractors are responsible for their recruitment, transport and supervision, while the Board provides free housing, water and daily mail deliveries.

[7] See particulars of sales listed in Annex "B".

Labourers employed by the tenants. These are normally available within the scheme, but at picking and pulling-out seasons there is a big demand for labour from outside. If there are not enough Sudanese pickers, labour is recruited from other countries and there are four main groups of foreigners. Some of them may only be passing through the Gezira on their way to Mecca; these are the pilgrims, others are the Borque from Central Africa, the Bornu and Hausa from Nigeria and the Folate (or Fullani) who come from all over the area between the Senegal and the Nile.

The following figures indicate the picking labour over the last ten years:

Season	*Blue Nile Arabs*	*White Nile Arabs*	*French Equatorans*	*Nigerians*	*Western Sudanese*	*Others*	*Total*
1950-51	89,500	50,813	23,850	19,284	19,424	773	203,694
1951-52	55,466	42,614	24,901	11,069	23,626	—	157,676
1952-53	72,409	54,152	29,651	17,483	32,513	—	203,406
1953-54	61,960	44,201	29,653	15,091	31,672	—	183,418
1954-55	77,469	53,390	26,962	16,260	29,711	—	205,753
1955-56	89,233	54,338	24,774	20,049	23,774	—	212,168
1956-57	112,574	55,355	321,959	19,272	31,787	—	251,947
1957-58	52,732	42,549	20,264	12,137	21,702	—	149,384
1958-59	118,143	65,673	26,939	18,002	41,058	404	270,219
1959-60	82,894	75,466	19,433	13,286	31,410	50	226,592
1960-61	91,629	85,063	17,827	11,446	43,991	40	240,996
1961-62	70,014	79,519	28,907	74,028	18,492	—	391,270

A social research section is making studies into the problems of labour. As a result a permanent committee for picking labour was established in 1962 and a committee for urging tenants and their families to pick cotton has also been established. The Ministry of Finance issues free railway warrants for the cotton picking labour.

Social Development

The Gezira Act gave special consideration to human requirements. In fact the Gezira Scheme has always been much more than a mere agricultural enterprise or a purely economic undertaking.

One of the functions of the Board as expressed in the charter is "the promotion of social development by any means having as its object the benefit of the tenants and other inhabitants of the Scheme area". Accordingly, two per cent from the profits of the cotton crop is allocated annually to the Social Development Fund.

The Board has a Social Development Department and it also has a local committee for development presided over by the Chairman of the Blue Nile provincial authority who is an ex-officio director of the Board. Fifteen of the members represent the tenants, six represent the ministries concerned, seven represent the local government councils and two represent the Gezira Board.

The activities of this committee and the Department cover a wide field; they include education, health, the welfare of women and the encouragement of co-operative societies.

The South-West Extension; Managil

So far I have dealt with the main scheme of the Gezira only. I think it is essential also, before concluding this paper, to give an idea about the new extension of the scheme. So the Managil extension must be our next concern.

The new Managil extension has been developed during the period 1957-1962. It comprises over 800,000 feddans and it runs under the same management as the main Gezira Scheme. It is closely connected with the new Roseires dam and not with the old Sennar dam.

The original plan was to divide the Managil extension into four equal phases of development of nearly 200,000 feddans each.

This was supposed to take seven years but later the plan was revised so as to complete the whole extension in only a little over four years. The work was undertaken jointly by various Government departments and the Gezira Board.

The difference in agricultural conditions between the main scheme and the extension is so great that it sometimes gives the impression that essentially different problems with different approaches are involved. This is because of the difference in the type of holdings and rotation. For example in the Managil, unlike the Gezira, the tenant has five feddans of cotton on a three course rotation; that is fifteen feddans per tenant. This system is said to be advisable on two main considerations:

(1) The fifteen feddans tenancy will spread the benefit over a greater number of tenants and will lead to a more even distribution of wealth.

(2) It will enable the tenants and their families in lean years to do the work without resorting to hired labour.

In the main scheme over 50 per cent of the land is left fallow, whilst in the extension 67 per cent of the land is available for cropping in any one year, but not continuously.

Again, in the main scheme the field inspectors are spread over the whole area but in the Managil they are grouped at block headquarters.

The extension was completed in 1962. The resulting economic changes led to further corresponding changes in the social life of the people; new villages sprang up, old villages grew larger and many of the services of the modern world began to find their way to the newly-developed extension.

To conclude my paper I should like to say that it is not only the Sudanese people who are proud of the Gezira Scheme, which will doubtless be recorded in history as an example of man's ability and determination; but also many notable visitors of high repute have been impressed by its success. Mr. Rodney Whitaker of the World Bank on his visit to the Gezira in 1963 commented on the scheme by saying: "It is my belief that the world needs many more Gezira Schemes; it would be a better place in which to live. The planning operation and management of the project seemed to me to be commendable in all respects".

ANNEX "A"

COMPULSORY LEASEHOLDING

This system of compulsorily leasing the land does not seem to be a good one, either economically or administratively, because in the first place it puts the landowners in the position, when the leases expire, either to refuse to lease their land to government for a further period or to demand an increase in the rent. In the second place the government (hence the country's tax-payers) have to pay the landowners rent each year and since the inception of the scheme a total of some £S2,000,000 has been paid out.

In addition there are the costs of running the registry and rent offices which employ a number of trained officials who might be more usefully employed elsewhere, instead of keeping dead records which will never again be of any practical use.

But on the other hand the following reasons may be advanced to justify why leasing instead of expropriation was adopted in the Gezira, namely:

(1) The success of the scheme for growing cotton was in some doubt and therefore some element of risk was involved, and if it had happened that the scheme failed the land could have been easily restored to its original owners.
(2) The system of cultivating tenancies was adopted while there were still studies going on about the final method of holding the land.
(3) In the beginning the scheme was to be administered by a foreign company and at that time there was so much talk about "colonization" and "taking our land".
(4) The goodwill and co-operation of the local people, who were very suspicious about the scheme, was essential to its success.

It is clear that all the above-mentioned arguments are irrelevant now, since the scheme proved itself successful and since it has been nationalised and administered by the Sudan Gezira Board.

No one contemplates the possibility that the Gezira Scheme may one day cease to function and that the land in consequence will return to its original owners to be cultivated again as rainland. The landowners have therefore lost forever the use of their land. This being the case it is in the interests of both the country as a whole and the tenants that this system of leasing should be changed, because it is very dangerous to retain two different interests in the land which at some time in the future may conflict.

It does not sound economical to continue paying the rent to the land-owners indefinitely. It would be wiser to commute the rental into a single lump-sum payment to the landowners in return for the complete surrender of their rights of ownership.

ANNEX "B"

The following schedule shows by countries the number of bales and types of Sudanese cotton exported from 1st January 1968 to 31st December 1968

(A bale weighs 420 lbs approximately).

Country	*Sakel*	*Lambert*	*Acala*	*Varcous*	*Total*
W. Germany	5.804	155.342	41.153	3.810	179.169
Italy	4.443	131.185	8.800	1.163	145.541
India	51.653	79.226	.92	.170	131.123
U.S.S.R.		96.659			96.659
People's China	.25	82.910			82.935
Japan	2.437	78.521	9.267	1.021	91.246
U. Kingdom	14.317	52.814	4.096	2.160	73.387
Poland	5.502	25.597	.524		31.625
Belgium	2.326	16.239	3.986	.411	22.962
E. Germany	7.049	15.661			22.710
France	1.788	13.678	6.924	.318	22.708
Holland	.518	15.232	2.881	3.089	21.720
Romania		20.779			20.779
Hungary		11.874	6.589		18.463
Czechoslovakia	.100	18.113			18.213
Yugoslavia	.776	19.009			19.785
Switzerland	3.341	6.226	1.187	1.156	11.910
Spain		5.376	4.165		9.541
Hong Kong		4.477	2.472		6.949
U.S.A.	.13	5.040	. 5		5.058
Ethiopia			3.550		3.550
Austria	1.407	1.755			3.162
Philippines	.406	2.450			2.856
Australia	.125	2.190			2.313
Venezuala		1.316			1.316
Thailand		1.098			1.098
Ceylon			.981		.981
Singapore			.948		.948
S. Korea	.208	.656			.864
Malta		.653			.653
Sweden	.160	.300			.460
Finland	.100				.100
Others		6.458	1.000		7.458
Total	102.538	870.834	71.620	13.298	1,058.290

Source: Sudan News published by the Sudan Embassy, London

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The main sources of reference for this paper were:

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Quarterly Notes

CONFERENCE OF DIRECTORS OF COMMONWEALTH INSTITUTES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, *AT KABETE, KENYA*, 13-17 *APRIL* 1970.

Eighteen Commonwealth countries were represented and observers attended from the United Nations, CAFRAD, the EA Community, the Kenya Government, The University College of Nairobi, the Commonwealth Secretariat and Liberia. The organisation of the Conference by the Kenya Institute of Administration was excellent, the proceedings ran smoothly and the level of debate was maintained at a good standard. Discussion ranged over a broad field and included the following items:

a. *Staffing Problems at Institutes*:

i. There was a continuing need in African Institutes for experienced specialist trainers from the older Commonwealth countries – particularly those provided by the UK under Technical Assistance (T/A);

ii. greater emphasis should be given to training staff members (ie. the trainers) both locally and overseas under T/A arrangements;

iii. it could be of great assistance to countries with the greatest scarcity of trainers if those richer in personnel could second staff to advise, organise and run short courses;

iv. Third Country training should be extended – KIA which offered places to other African countries was an example;

v. to retain staff, those specially trained should be bonded – a practice now being followed in Kenya;

vi. the extent to which Institutes had achieved status and government support, thereby easing the recruitment problem, varied greatly. KIA found temporary staff membership qualified for better career jobs elsewhere, their problem was not how to attract but how to retain staff. The Malawi Government had approved arrangements whereby staff was not tied to any graded establishment and rapid promotion opportunities were available for multi-scale training officers;

vii. the general shortage of high level manpower was stressed – this was a common problem not one especially suffered by Institutes, but the better the career structure and promotional opportunities to the top were available within Institutes, the more centralised the training infrastructure and the less departmentalised splinter-training was allowed, the better the prospect of maintaining a reasonable degree of staff continuity. Where trainers moved into other sectors, the value of their training to the State was not altogether lost; where such personnel moved to the top level in government their influence could be highly beneficial to Institutes, morale-wise and practically;

viii. greater use should be made, particularly during the period of staff shortage, of part-time and visiting lecturers, particularly from the civil service, but it was not thought that school teachers qualified to teach the young would generally prove suitable for IPAs. Staff shortage meant heavy work loads and this was considered one reason for the greater attraction of University as against Institute careers;

ix. trainers needed to be trained in the methodology of training (eg. the new six month DOAS course at Manchester and the five weeks (very short) ECA "Trainers" course) and to have practical field attachments.

b. *Position of Institutes vis-à-vis Universities*

The well-worn arguments for autonomy, for full integration and for associated status were put forward by their protagonists; the tendency in the Commonwealth, it appeared, was towards integration, but systems varied widely and while close co-operation and firm links were regarded as essential between Institutes and Universities, the need for governments to control the training of their public servants was emphasised, and here perhaps lay the main problem for some countries. How far the association between two such bodies can go depended on local circumstances and could vary within one country (eg. India). Some governments viewed University political scientists with an element of suspicion. The basic distinction between Universities and Institutes was well put by one speaker: in his view "Public Administration" is a wide meaning term, covering anything from the study of major governmental institutions and procedures down to day-to-day work in a registry. Hence, there could be a range of institutions training within this scope. There is value in both broad academic study and in practical skills. A university would be concerned with only some of these, not necessarily the teaching of more routine activities. There is a distinction between "education" and "training". There is a need for education at various levels, and, in the public service, the need also to know the system of government, inter-departmental procedures etc. Universities are basically for education, while IPAs are basically for training.

c. *Commonwealth Association of Institutes of Public Administration*

It was agreed unanimously that an Association should be established. A Steering Committee was appointed representative of the main geographical areas of the Commonwealth, to study the practical implications (constitution, objects, financing, permanent base etc.); to consult the Commonwealth Foundation which had indicated agreement in principle to providing the Association with £15,000 over a three year period, and other appropriate bodies; and to make recommendations as soon as possible – in any event in time for consideration at the IIAS meeting in September 1971 which would be attended by many Commonwealth participants. If possible the recommendations would be circulated sooner and approved/revised by correspondence; Mr. Raymond Nottage, Director RIPA, agreed to be convener of the Steering Committee and to undertake such consultations as would be needed in Britain.

d. *Local Examination Boards and national qualifications in accountancy and administration*

i. The Kenya initiative undertaken in 1968 towards setting up an East/Central Africa Regional Board (in association with national boards) had not met with the active response hoped for (it was probably over-ambitious) and so Kenya had "gone it alone"; a National Examinations Board had been established (under the provisions of the Education Act, thereby necessitating no legislative delays) with representatives from government Ministries, the University, the accountancy and secretarial profession, commerce, local authorities and the Federation of Co-operatives. The Chairman is the Director of Personnel in the President's Office and the Vice-Chairman is President of the East African Association of Accountants. An experienced officer from the Ministry of Education has been seconded to the Board as its Examination Officer. The syllabi worked out by examination committees had been approved. For accountancy candidates optional subjects catered for the individual needs of accountants in the Co-operative Movement, in commerce and industry, in private practice – besides central and local government. New courses began in May 1969 and the first examinations under the system had just been held – in March. There are now preliminary exams for accounts clerks and secretaries, and there are to be two parts in each field of the final examinations. The Kenya Government would recognise the qualifications of those who successfully completed the examinations as in effect local equivalents of final IMTA and Corporate Secretaries Examinations;

ii. KIA agreed to make available all the material collated in the course of their local examinations exercise, to other interested countries, and would be glad to provide training facilities for these examinations to other countries not yet able to set up their own systems;

iii. the achievement of Kenya in this field earned the deserved admiration of the Conference. The membership of the Board it was felt would ensure the maintenance of high standards by those who qualified as accountants or secretaries;

iv. the ECA observer explained that his Organisation was anxious to provide all the assistance it could to ensure the maintenance of high standards wherever local examinations were introduced in Commonwealth Africa;

v. some progress was being made in Uganda, Zambia and Malawi but the advanced Kenyan stage was not yet in sight;

vi. attention was drawn to the distinction between UK accountancy bodies which, following the integration due to take place in 1971, would merge into a purely British Institute and the Chartered Institute of Secretaries which was Commonwealth-wide in its scope – hence some Commonwealth countries in Asia and West Africa, while setting up local accountancy qualifications, were content with the existing CIS facilities. It was also noted that the Overseas Accoun-

tancy Board of the integrated British Institute of Chartered Accountants would be willing to provide advice and assistance over examination systems to overseas countries where this was sought.

THIRD AFRICAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

The Conference held at Accra from 8th to 18th December 1969, was attended by 184 delegates and advisers from thirty-two countries, observers from seven other States, Members of the Organisation and representatives of nine governmental and twelve non-governmental international organisations. It was opened by Mr. J. W. K. Harlley, Deputy Chairman of the Presidential Commission of Ghana who after welcoming the conferencees and praising the work of the ILO in Africa appealed to the developed countries to assist Africa in bridging the widening gap between the rich and poor countries particularly by reducing their expenditure on armaments and devoting the savings to aid programmes.

The Chairman of the Governing Body (Mr. Gros Espiell) asked the Conference to bear in mind the sincere and profound aspiration of the African continent for unity and the need for a healthy and viable economy. He reminded the Africans that as an integral part of a complex world they must accept the requirements of training for productive employment, the husbanding of material and human resources and the pursuit in unity of recognised objectives if they were to satisfy their legitimate ambitions.

In his presidential address, Mr. Jatoe Kaleo, Minister of Labour, Ghana, said as Africa's greatest handicap was unemployment he hoped the Conference would arrive at conclusions which would enable the ILO to help African countries with a suitable strategy to develop and make the fullest use of their human resources. Like other speakers in plenary sessions, he deplored the fluctuations in the prices paid for primary commodities and appealed to the developed countries to display more willingness to pay fair and stable prices for such commodities.

Fifty speakers, including ten Ministers, took part in the discussion of the Director-General's Report on "Social Change and Social Progress in Africa". Emphasis was laid on the fundamental importance of employment as a means to economic development and greater social equality, and hence also to political stability. There was broad support for the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa which, it was hoped, would stimulate employment and raise the level of occupational efficiency. Appreciation was expressed of the technical co-operation afforded by the ILO which was asked to increase its help to Africa. Other points concerned rural development, education and training for employment, drift to the towns, social problems arising from the population explosion, shortage of competent experienced staff in labour departments and the need for improved tripartite consultation and co-operation at all stages of development projects. In his reply to the discussions on the Report, the Secretary-General of the Conference (Mr. C. W. Jenks) pledged the help and support of the ILO for the Jobs and Skills Programme

but reminded the African countries that its success depended primarily on their efforts. He enlarged on the difficult question of foreign migratory labour and suggested the matter should be considered further in its African context in order to reduce or eliminate some of the problems which had recently exacerbated inter-state relations. He also proposed some steps which African countries might take to improve the benefits of technical co-operation programmes.

The detailed work of the Conference was carried out in three Committees which considered Labour Administration and Labour Inspection in Africa, Technical Co-operation in Africa, in particular integrated programmes for the promotion of adequate national institutional arrangements, and Employment Policy in Africa. The Conference adopted unanimously the conclusions and resolutions submitted by the Committees. The main points of the resolutions were to underline the need for adequate and efficient labour administration and inspection services as essential components for successful employment policies, to invite the ILO to provide facilities for the training of English-speaking labour administrators (there was already a training institution for French speakers), to attempt to control the outflow of trained personnel from projects established by the ILO and to adopt the Jobs and Skills Programme.

(*A note contributed by Mr. J. E. D. Slater, recently British Labour Attaché in West and Central Africa*).

PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA – *Local Government*

A major change occurred with the enactment of the Local Government Ordinance 1963 which became effective on 1st January 1965. This permitted the extension of a council's jurisdiction to include people of all races with its area; hitherto councils had been solely concerned with, and composed of, indigenous people. The Ordinance provided for the appointment of a Commissioner of Local Government and set out a comprehensive statement of the functions and duties of local government councils. The Ordinance was in effect the legislative expression of the purpose and functions of local government based on the results achieved under the previous legislation.

By March 1969 there were 142 local government councils within the eighteen administrative districts into which the Territory is divided, covering a population of 1,953,000 persons – some 84 per cent of the total population – with 4,037 councillors drawn from 9,341 villages or groups. Councils have the power to tax people living in their areas (but cannot levy income tax), have the power to make rules governing conduct within villages on matters ranging from hygiene and road-making to village markets, to operate commercial undertakings and to participate in education by granting financial assistance to schools, and operating pre-school centres.

The councils have potentially a wider range of functions than their municipal or shire counterparts in Australia. Collectively these councils form an effective level of government which is in daily direct contact with the majority of the population. Because of this direct contact local government councillors

or the presidents of these councils are, in the local context, more important than members of the House of Assembly. The power and influence of councillors is direct and tangible both as representatives of the people and, in a sense, of the Administration. Councillors are elected for two years, electors must be over eighteen and liable to pay rates or taxes. A candidate for election must be qualified as an elector. It is of some interest to note that in 1969, 47 of a total of 84 elected members of the House of Assembly have been or still are active in the local government field.

The first phase of local government – establishment of councils practically throughout the entire Territory – has now been completed. It is perhaps pertinent at this stage to consider what are the current problems facing the councils and future possible developments in the local government field.

In common with most recently established organisations or institutions local government councils suffer from a severe shortage of trained staff. There is a serious shortage of trained indigenes capable of carrying out the normal administrative functions of budget preparation, collection of taxes, and staff supervision.

The Local Government Training Centre at Vunadidir is conducting one and two-year courses to train council clerks and council administrative officers. Because of the very rapid growth in the formation of councils it will be some time before all present councils are staffed with officers who have had some formal training in administrative procedures and basic political theory.

The most successful and widely known commercial enterprise operated and controlled by a local government council is the Tolai Cocoa Project operated by the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council. This project was financed by bank loans totalling $462,000 guaranteed by the Administration. The first loan was made in 1955, the last instalment was repaid in 1968. This is a financial record of which any enterprise, in any country, could well be proud. The project now has an annual turnover of some millions of dollars and has a very important effect on the entire economy of the Gazelle Peninsula. Other councils also engage in commercial undertakings on a somewhat less ambitious scale from wholesale buying and artifacts for resale down to the operation and control of village markets.

With few exceptions municipal services in urban centres, including Port Moresby, are at present provided by the Administration even where the towns lie within the boundaries of a local government council. The most important exception is Goroka with a population of about 5,000 which, in 1965, was incorporated into the area of the Goroka Local Government Council. Under an agreement with the Administration the council has since 1966 provided on an agency basis (i.e. on behalf of the Administration) certain municipal services – sanitary and garbage, public health control, operation of cemetery, town cleaning, roads and bridges. To finance these operations the council receives a grant from the Administration equal to their cost if carried out by the Administration plus income from a head (or personal) tax, and from charges levied for certain services.

District and Town Advisory Councils are an adjunct to local government in the Territory. There is an Advisory Council in each of the eighteen Districts of the Territory. Membership varies between fifteen-twenty persons depending on the size of the District. A majority of the members of each Council are indigenous. The number of Town Advisory Councils has been reduced following the expansion of Local Government and the inclusion of all but the major towns within the boundaries of adjacent local government councils. Currently there are seven such Councils, but with the introduction of some form of elected urban government institutions in the near future, the scope of activity of the advisory town council bodies will be greatly reduced.

Members of both District and Town Advisory Councils are appointed by the Administration and not elected. Usually the membership is balanced, particularly on District Advisory Councils, between various occupational groups and Missions active in each District are represented.

In slightly less than 20 years an extensive local government system has been developed in a country without a common language, with no tradition of self-government at this level and with the great majority of the population engaged in subsistence farming, making communication and the levying of taxes to pay for necessary services, problems of the first magnitude.

Source: *Australian External Territories*, Vol. 9, No. 4, Nov. 1969.

IRAN – *Pre-service training*

The Iran Municipal Training Centre started in January a six months pre-service Training Course on Municipal Finance and Administration for 107 high-school graduates.

Recruited from the different provinces all over the country the participants shall be trained in five classes for half a year. The course is being conducted in close co-operation with the School of Public and Business Administration of the University of Tehran. Upon graduation, the participants shall be assigned to work in the municipalities under Iran's Renewal and Urban Development Programme.

Extract from *I.U.L.A. Newsletter*, April 1969.

NEW ZEALAND – *Need for Regional Authority*

The Wellington City Council is to be asked to set up a regional authority responsible for industrial development and promotion throughout the Greater Wellington area. This move follows an announcement that a British electronics company bypassed the capital when seeking a centre for its operations in the Pacific Basin.

The chairman of the city's transport and traffic committee, Mr. J. H. Turk, said that the reasons given for the firm's decision clearly showed the lackadaisical approach to regional planning and development. "What Wellington and all the geographical areas surrounding it need more than anything else", he said, "is some kind of overall authority which has the power to direct the

60 or 70 *ad hoc* and municipal bodies within that area to act on matters which will be of benefit to the entire region. Only a body such as a Capital Commission, with the authority delegated to it by the Government to make these decisions and have them enforced, is capable of revitalizing the Greater Wellington region".

Extract from *I.U.L.A.* (*London*) *Local Government Abroad*, Sept. 1969.

CANADA – *To have Urban Information Service*

The Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research will sponsor the groundwork needed to set up a comprehensive Canadian urban information service. The ultimate aim of this project is to provide those responsible for guiding Canada's rapid urbanization for finding pertinent facts.

A panel of advisers consulted by the Council agreed that the service should include:

an inventory of present Canadian sources of urban information;
a survey of the way policy-makers go after what they need;
the development of indexing and transmission facilities to bridge the gaps and tie in with related information services.

Extract from *I.U.L.A. Newsletter* September/October 1969.

FRANCE – *The growth of Marseilles*

Marseilles, the second largest city of France and one of the eight "balancing capitals" (métropoles d'équilibre) created to help France's regions to counteract the economic influence of Paris, is now developing so rapidly that it extends beyond the urban district particularly insofar as industry is concerned. This is why, in 1966, the "Marseilles Metropolitan Area" was set up within the Provence-Côte d'Azur-Corse Region. This area covers 2,800 square kilometres, or half the Bouches-du-Rhone department. Henceforth, it is within the framework of this area, conceived on a European scale, that programmes for economic development, planning, investment, urban renewal, social facilities, etc., which concern Marseilles and its surroundings, will be worked out and implemented.

from *Information Bulletin*, French Embassy, June 1969.

UNITED STATES – *Study in Urban and Regional Change*

The Special Programme for Urban and Regional Studies of Developing Areas (SPURS) runs at M.I.T. for the academic year (September/May). Aimed at mature mid career officers from developing countries, a few from the West and the U.S.A. are also admitted.

Book Reviews

Panchayati Raj; a Study of Rural Local Government in India by HENRY MADDICK, *Longman*, 1970, viv, 402 pp., 90s.

In his inaugural lecture, "Mud Walls and Metropolises", Henry Maddick affirmed a Gladstonian faith in grassroots democracy: a belief that local people working through local bodies can draw upon resources, human and material, which a central authority cannot reach. *Panchayati Raj*, "The Governance of the Village Councillors", did not in its genesis represent local demands for local initiatives: it represented an emanation of nationalism – though of a special kind, drawing upon the creed of Gandhi and the style of Nehru. As Maddick puts it, "An agency now exists for translating central policy, properly communicated, into action through local adaptation and local leadership . . . No other device of government and administration can do this. No other device can cope with the vast numbers and the heterogeneity of India" (pp. 316–17).

The first thing to understand about Panchayati Raj is that it is not a revolution. It is a vast exercise in institutionalising the existing forces of local leadership and authority. Since the first experiment in setting up Western-style municipal corporations in the 1880's, each phase of local government building in India has been presented as an initiative in political change, but in practice has emerged as an embodiment of the prevailing order. The original British local self-government of the 1880's, designed to provide the "natural leaders" of local society with "political education", actually extended the range of control of the British district officer. The transfer of power to non-official leadership in the 1920's, designed to stimulate a spirit of *local* patriotism actually created an instrument for *national* patriotism: the local bodies were plunged into the nationwide activities of the Freedom Struggle. And now, in the 1960's, Panchayati Raj, expected to mobilise the consensus of the local community in solidarity and service has actually opened up a vast new field for the faction and case power struggles which dominate the political arena of Indian state-level politics in the 1960's. Because local self-government in India in the 1960's represents something handed down from above, not demanded from below (just like the municipal institutions which came before) it has no inherent strength of its own. In the past, Indian local bodies never managed to become financially viable (with some notable exceptions) and constantly looked upward to the government for funds to keep them afloat. Exactly the same today: Panchayati Raj has been endowed with a major slice of state-government taxation – from the land revenue – but the councils still expect to be sustained by direct government grants. Henry Maddick is aware of all this, and of the gap between local self-government as it is, and as it might be: "The potential is so great, the reality often pathetic."

His book is an exact and detailed account of the historical evolution of modern Indian local government – the marriage of community development and rural authority – and the emergence of a new power structure in the

countryside: it is concerned with "structure" rather than "process", in the conventional jargon. Maddick assembled his work during the years 1962–7, when Panchayati Raj was still in the initial phase. He was able to review and analyse the new framework of councils, from the 220,000 village-level authorities up to the 320/30 district level authorities. He was also able to gain an impression of the financial operation – estimating, budgeting, tax-gathering and grant receiving – and he formed a view of the party-political scene in the vast rural network. But he was not able to assess how Panchayati Raj was actually working out in its impact upon the countryside: the effect it was having upon the lives of the rural folk. One has a nasty suspicion that the answer is "No Change". Not enough elementary education of any quality . . . not enough public services . . . not enough social welfare . . . and absolutely no physical reconstruction of the medieval environment of habitation.

This, then, is a massively useful report on the *design* of India's new rural government network; a detailed analysis of how it functions, rather than an account of what it is functioning for. Any study of the subject in future will surely begin here. Professor Maddick has fashioned a tremendous spring-board from which others will be able to take off in order to discover what is actually happening . . . in Rajasthan, or Andhra, or Maharashtra, or in any of their dozens of districts or hundreds of villages.

This is a concentrated work: neat Bovril. This review cannot hope to pull out all the themes. Let us look at the effect of the new system on authority patterns. The main consequence is the "politicisation" of district and sub-district administration. Since independence, politicians have discovered that it is essential to hold a local power-base before one can aspire to national power. Any politician who ignores this (like Krishna Menon) is vulnerable. Now, many national MPs and state legislators behave as though involvement in Panchayati Raj is more important to them than politicking at Delhi or the state capital. The chairmen of the sub-district and district level councils (panchayat samiti and zilla parishad) are key political figures: to cite Maddick "The office of pramukh (chairman) is, or will become one of the most highly coveted in political life, outside that of a minister's post . . . In a state like Maharashtra, where all district activities have been transferred to the zilla parishad, the position of pramukh might be considered preferable to that of a junior minister" (pp. 210–11). The pramukh is elected, and Maddick does not make it quite clear whether he has to come up from among those representing the lower-level bodies, or whether he can be an outsider. Other evidence suggests that in some states the Congress and other parties import old guard politicians as pramukhs from the state party machine. Such a chairman, with direct access to state ministers and to the party machine, is extremely powerful. It will be a bold permanent official – even if he is a member of the state, or all-India, civil service – who will question the directive of such a chairman. There is accumulating evidence that most officials accept the role of Ji-Huzoor ("Yes *Sir*"), and as Maddick observes "The next era in local government will then be one of bossism rather than autocracy (i.e., as under the district officer) and this may well provide even less statesmanlike leadership than the former regime"(p.256).

What remedy is suggested? "It is important from every point of view that public interest in the whole area of the district be stimulated, thus providing the basis for public participation and control", says Maddick. Just so, just so: but this is a dilemma which has baffled all those who want effective local *self* government, from Wisconsin to Wiltshire. Another bulwark against party political local government which Maddick advocates is the creation of an "India Local Government Service" (see p.295 et seq.). The reason emerges in his conclusion: "No plans, however well-contrived, have the least value unless they are properly executed and, in this respect, myths about the sanctity of local authority decisions need exploring. Irresponsible decisions, unlawful decisions, partial decisions need to be checked if local government is to grow in the eyes of the people and also if it is to be used as a medium for the development and execution of central plans" (p. 315). We have heard all this before – in almost every debate – the importance of efficiency, which must not be inspired by the need for democracy. It was all so much easier when we accepted paternalism: perhaps that is why so much of the Third World seems prepared to settle for People's Democracy or Guided Democracy or some other formula for giving regimentation a popular mythology. It is difficult enough to create the spirit of parliament: how much more difficult to create a quarter of a million little parliaments in India. But Henry Maddick will do what he can to see they make a go of it.

HUGH TINKER.

MODERNISING PEASANT SOCIETIES, by GUY HUNTER; *Institute of Race Relations—Oxford University Press*, 1969; pp. 324; 40s.

MODERNISATION AMONG PEASANTS, by EVERETT M. ROGERS; *Holt, Rinehart, Winston*, 1969; pp. 429.

Here are two books with similar titles and very different approaches to the same problems from opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The first British, highly readable, human and in the best sense subjective; the second very American, packed tight with jargon, full of research references, statistical tables, models and paradigms and, in the best sense, objective. Take a couple of headings from their respective tables of contents and you will see what I mean. Hunter: "Contact with the Farmer"; Rogers: "Predicting Empathy with a Multiple Correlation Approach". Or again Rogers defining modernisation as "the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced and rapidly changing style of life . . .a process which is simultaneously creative and destructive, providing new opportunities and prospects at a high price in human dislocation and suffering". And Hunter describing it: "the long groundswell of social and technical change which we call modernisation". If you like reading more than one book at a time try these two, it's an interesting experience.

What I most missed in Hunter, I found in Rogers – a treatment of the processes and problems of human communication, which I have always felt to be the most crucial component of modernisation. Hunter is aware of them; indeed he explains that his chapter on "contact with the farmer" has omitted "a great number of interesting and important issues concerned with

extension, training methods, the problem of illiteracy and much else". Rogers, on the other hand, lives up to his sub-title "the impact of communication", reviews the research on innovation and the adoption and diffusion of ideas and practices in rural communities, but gives little attention to the ways in which communication integrates with the political, economic and technical factors in the development process. Again we find Hunter, listing "all the things needed for agricultural advance" – eighteen of them, from better seeds to marketing – putting extension and farmer education last on the list, but nevertheless showing in very convincing style the complex interrelationship of changes in the rural economy and the importance of "sequential growth". Strangely enough Hunter has nothing to say on the problem of languages and Rogers dismisses it in one short paragraph. Yet surely the fact that a hundred or more languages may be spoken in a single country, the fact that the majority of Africans and many Asians and Latin Americans get their education and training in languages that are not their mother-tongues – not the normal medium of their thought and expression, the fact that information must either be translated into numerous local languages or remain intelligible only to the educated minority must have important repercussions on the modernisation of peasant societies.

Perhaps I have been unfair in suggesting that Hunter gives too little attention to communication. In a late chapter on "Education" he pleads the case with emotion for more primary schooling, continued educational contact for 15–17 year olds through farmers' clubs, scouts, and craft classes and for expanding training centres for "the adult farmers, the craftsmen and the women who support them". Vital as these services are, it is still salutary to wade back into Rogers' turgid analysis of innovation and diffusion, to remind ourselves that these are slow and complex processes, involving such esoteric conceptions as "empathy"; "cosmopoliteness"; "homophily"; "achievement-motivation"; "fatalism"; and "opinion leadership" and not to be achieved simply by increasing traditional education and training, or by what Rogers calls the "hypodermic-needle model of communication".

Finally it is interesting to examine Rogers' 445 item, 19 page Bibliography and Hunter's 112 item, 3 page, Index of Authors and Works and to note that they have only 3 entries in common. Perhaps they should get to know each other, or perhaps they do; but on second thoughts it might be a disastrous case of two great people divided by a not so common language.

J. B. BOWERS.

THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA, by NORMAN MELLER with the assistance of TERZA MELLER; *University of Hawaii Press*, 1969; index; pp. xii + 480; $US 12.00.

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands – now more commonly referred to as Micronesia – consists of the Marshall Islands, the Caroline Islands, and the Marianas (apart from Guam). Its more than 2,000 islands extend over some 3 million square miles of ocean but have a land area of just under 700 square miles. Its widely scattered population, of between 90,000 and 100,000, is divided by differences of language and culture but unified by common,

experience of alien rule – first (to a limited extent) by Spain, then by Germany, then by Japan, and finally by the United States.

The Congress of Micronesia – the Territory's central legislature – first met as recently as July 1965. And its powers are limited: it does not control the United States appropriations which form the major part of Territorial revenues; a significant proportion of the bills that it passes fail to receive the High Commissioner's assent. Professor Meller's book includes short chapters setting the background and suggesting possible lines of future political development, and a third of its text is devoted to the legislative bodies in the separate districts. But, even so, its account of the Congress itself is extremely detailed.

Within limits, Dr. Meller's penchant for detail pays off. He is a scholar of integrity, meticulous in the presentation of evidence, careful and dispassionate in the framing of generalizations. The background of candidates for Congress is subjected to systematic analysis. The rules of procedure adopted by the two houses, the style of debate, and the decisions reached in the early sessions are described in great detail. Students of the legislative process are presented with a wealth of data regarding the Congress of Micronesia.

Dr. Meller's contact with Micronesia has been both as a scholar and as an adviser to the Administration and to Congress. His book is thus also of importance as an exposition of his own, and his government's, approach to the problem of political development. In a long chapter on the establishment of a district legislature in Yap and in another describing a "workshop" to "equip the freshman legislators with the parliamentary knowledge and skills" needed in Congress, he provides almost day-by-day accounts of his own thinking and growth of understanding. It is perhaps a tribute to his forthrightness, and certainly a reflection of governmental confidence in the American way of doing things, that he emerges as a paternalist. He writes, for example: "the indigenes had to be instructed on the significance of the new political institutions" (p. 57); or, again, "The training team proposed to encourage a sense of identity sufficient to permit the congressmen to manage their own affairs" (p. 291). He seems unwilling to concede that political institutions may evolve in response to local pressures and a local ideology.

British readers may be irritated by Dr. Meller's imprecise use of the term "indirect rule" and by his habit of calling legislators "solons".

This reviewer, who is consultant to the Congress of Micronesia in relation to the Trust Territory's political future, was disappointed in another way. Nowhere do the men with whom he is working, serious minded, astute, united by opposition to many present policies and practices (if not by indigenous tradition), emerge as persons. Nowhere is there more than a dim reflection of political discussion—enlivened by emotion and wide knowledge, lightened by humour–such as that which he knows at first hand. Dr. Meller's absorption in the mechanics of political action has obscured his portrayal of its purpose and its colour.

But this is, perhaps, an invalid criticism: to ask for a different kind of book. Within his chosen terms of reference, Norman Meller has produced a fine work of scholarship, always accurate in matters of fact and fair in those of opinion.

J. W. DAVIDSON

KORO: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN FIJI, by R. F. WATTERS, *Clarendon Press, Oxford*, 1969, xvi, 305 pp. 70s.

This book is a valuable contribution to the behavioural school of modern geographical method. It studies Fijian economic development at the village level, taking detailed account of "the people in the villages, the land on which they work, the resources they use or fail to use, the driving forces that shape the patterns of their lives and determine the extent to which they are committed to Western culture" (p. xiii).

The book is in three parts. Part I describes the basic social and economic problems facing Fiji and the Fijians in particular. These problems are seen to arise from the Fijians' "position in the process of social change" (p. 1). The message enunciated here is that traditionalism pervades nearly all aspects of Fijian life. The basis and origin of traditionalism in Fijian life is also examined. Part II studies in detail four villages representative of major ecological environments. Nalotawa is an interior village in the dry zone of Viti Levu, possessing limited physical resources and difficult access, a small population, and marginal participation in the cash economy. Lutu is a banana-and-dairying village in the interior of the wet zone of Viti Levu. Its agricultural pattern is clearly diverse. Economic and social progress is said to depend on the "right mix" between traditional and modern leadership. Nacamaki on Koro Island has very fertile soils and a cash economy based on coconuts and *yaqona* – both traditional crops. The success of the co-operatives and the problems of marketing are also explored. Sorolevu (the fictitious name for Nawaka?) is a sugar-cane village in northwest Viti Levu. It is fairly immersed in the sugar economy, with its associated technological change and an individualistic attitude to land. However, factionalism and divided loyalties pose real problems. This Part ends by high-lighting the major similarities and differences between the four villages and shows the extent of economic development and social change these villages have achieved. Part III develops at the national level the major issues analysed in the case studies. These include the desirability of encouraging the spread of independent farmers, the role of entrepreneurship in Fijian rural development, leadership at the "grass roots" level in a changing situation, the role of the co-operatives and community development in the process of Fijian modernisation. The main arguments of the book are brought together in the final chapter which reviews in broad outline the relatively slow progress of the Fijians in a rapidly changing Fiji, and attempts to place this progress against theories of economic growth.

Perhaps the major criticism of the book is that it attempts to do too much. Economic development and social change are fields which span the whole spectrum of the social sciences and clearly too wide for a single human mind

to examine thoroughly. The danger is that only certain aspects of the situation are examined and emphasised, and in this book the emphasis is placed on changing the social patterns and economic organisation of the Fijian people to suit the demands of the modern commercial world, given the existing resources. The important psychological implications of this adjustment are treated only in passing and in general terms. There are specific points about which one could take issue. It is difficult to reconcile the statement that few "see the need to come to terms with the modern world" (p. 49) with evidence presented which shows a fair movement towards aspects of the "modern world" by the people of Nalotawa who "have been incorporated into the cash economy" (p. 61). Also, the statement that "nobody realised the great value that barbed wire fencing would give to such (grasses and reeds) country" (p. 59) seems naive. This is especially so when the villagers of Nalotawa possess 20 head of cattle. Perhaps the villagers did not have the money to purchase barbed wire. It seems to this reviewer that this particular statement illustrates the very real communication problem that can separate the villager from the fieldworker, especially when the two sides belong to different cultures and despite the use of trained interpreters and the prior establishment by the researcher of excellent rapport in the field. There are other minor slips, especially those involving Fijian orthography. However, some of these e.g. *Rata* for *Ratu* are more than minor slips and should not have been committed by a serious student of Fijian social and economic affairs.

The above criticisms do not detract significantly from the considerable value of the book. The approach of the study is commendable and realistic. It places land utilisation and economic development within a social context and society's changing patterns. With its wealth of data the book clearly identifies the major trends in Fijian land use and the movement of the Fijians generally into the commercial economy and pinpoints the growth points and the impediments in this process. In this way *Koro* provides an invaluable addition to the literature on Fijian problems. The book, with 10 plates, 25 figures and 38 tables should be read by everybody interested in Fijian life, especially those involved in decisions of relevance to Fijian advancement. If the book is to be read widely in Fiji, it must be produced more cheaply.

ISIRELI LASAQA.

PROBLEMS AND TECHNIQUES OF ADMINISTRATIVE TRAINING IN AFRICA, Ed.: ADEBAYO ADEDEJI; *University of Ife Press*, 1969; 25s. **THE WORK OF ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA,** by D. J. MURRAY; Hutchinson, 1969; 40s. **THE PROGRESS OF NIGERIAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION : A REPORT ON RESEARCH,** by D. J. MURRAY, J. BARBOUR and E. O. KOWE; *Institute of Administration, Ife*, 1968; 20s.

Ten years ago, when one talked of Public Administration training in Africa one's thoughts turned first to the achievements of the Institute of Administration at Zaria. Today, when administrative training in Africa is referred to, the odds are that the allusion is to the programmes developed at another Nigerian centre, the Institute of Administration of the University of Ife.

While Zaria earned its name first at the in-service and then at the undergraduate level, Ife has taken over leadership at the postgraduate level of public administration training. On a number of counts Nigeria has made its mark in the development of public administration training in its African context–a field in which Africa as a whole has pioneered and institutionalised public administration as a "teachable" subject and as an academic discipline in its own right. A first-rate publications programme is at once the hallmark and the yardstick of a successful teaching and research programme. It is here that Ife has now established an enviable record.

The volume *Problems and Techniques of Administrative Training* derives from the conference on administrative training techniques held at the Institute of Administration, Ife, in April 1969 under the co-sponsorship of the Institute of Administration, Zaria, and the Ghana Institute of Public Administration. It comprises eleven of the papers presented at the conference, divided into the three sections of General Survey, Staff Development and Administrative Training Techniques. The nub of the discussions is well summarised in Dr. Adedeji's editorial comment on the fifty or so Institutes of Public Administration founded during Africa's recognised "independence decade": "While it has been relatively easy to establish these inservice training institutions, turning them into effective instruments for staff development has proved rather difficult." It is both the range of the problems and the variety of the experience found among Institutes which made the exchange of ideas so valuable at the time of the conference and which may, now in its published form, fulfil the editor's wish of bringing about some positive action for inter-institutional co-operation and collaboration.

To attempt a homogenizing operation for a symposium of this fairly discursive nature might be beyond the ability of both editor and reviewer. In this instance, the former (Dr. Adedeji) has wisely eschewed the task and the latter purposely avoids it in the belief that a synopsis of the contents may have a wider-casting appeal to the readership of the *Journal*. Such postures in no way deny the usefulness of the volume as a handbook for Institute staffs. Of the four chapters devoted to a summary of the general problems of administrative training, John Sargent presents an overview of the current situation in Africa, backed up by a selected bibliography, and S. S. Richardson frankly discusses some of the obstacles to the full development of administrative training programmes. Then come two country studies, by Adedeji on the Western Region's training in an historical approach and by Messrs. Fuller & Chambers on the Kenyan experience in training for development. Victor Mamphey considers some of the recurrent frustrations in developing a cadre of teaching staff, noting how "only a small number of Africans are prepared to choose work at an institute as a career." His essay is complemented by Quinn Mackay, who puts forward the concept of "integral instruction" to overcome some of the systemic and symptomatic troubles outlined in his thoughtful case-study of the typical Mr. Gofwen's "failure" as a has-been returning to join an Institute staff. The other five chapters all deal with techniques in administrative training: a review of case method as a learning tool by Robert Dennison, field projects as used at the East African Staff College discussed by Robert Chambers, the special techniques developed by

R. S. N. Bax in Ghana and Sierra Leone for training accountants and auditors, observational and participatory techniques examined by Alan Fowler, and what we might call an evaluation of evaluation techniques by R. Rowe. All in all, a connoisseur's dozen, as my wine merchant is wont to say.

If the first book reflects the continuing imaginative leadership of Ife Institute's Director, Professor Adedeji, the second pays tribute to the many achievements of Dr. Murray during his term of office as the Institute's Director of Research. The five administrative episodes in Western Nigeria that he analyses are standard accounts in that they seek to fulfil the two traditional functions of the case study as a pedagogic tool: both to describe the problems faced by the modern African administrator and to illustrate the way in which such problems are being handled or, by implication, mishandled. The case study of an abattoir for Ibadan is a major study, taking up as much as one third of the whole book – but then it did take Ibadan thirty years to decide to turn down the project! As part of the literature on public administration, this technique of investigation and instruction is now accepted. In their African context, however, two additional factors emerge. One, these illustrations of administrators in action reveal to a poignant degree the strength of the political crosscurrents, and occasional flooding, to which the modern administrator in Africa is exposed as he swims now with, now against, the tide. For those brought up in the safely structured bathing pool of politics at one end and administration at the other, a first swim in the sea of African administration is likely to be quite a rough experience. The other factor is best seen in Dr. Murray's own introduction, where he argues the rationale behind the case study approach from the premise that these are the first case studies of Nigerian administration as he understands the term. To justify this, he draws a distinction between the directly instructional case studies – one thinks of the successful materials developed by Ian Mayo-Smith of the Ford Foundation, first at the Staff Development Centre in Kaduna and later at the Kenya Institute of Administration at Kabete – and the freer tradition adopted by the Royal Institute of Public Administration and some of the American and Indian schools. These deal not with the internal mechanics of an administrative institution but with administration as a functioning system, where the heart of the matter is the decision taken. Those who, like this reviewer, think they know what case studies are should read Dr. Murray's reflective introduction before they turn to his five administrative episodes.

The third book is a useful research tool. In the belief that "administration is a field where research and analysis (sic) are a prerequisite for effective action", over sixteen hundred items (papers, theses, articles and ongoing research) on Nigerian public administration published between January 1960 and April 1968 are listed alphabetically by authorship. Selectivity was, of course, inevitable; as a framework, the authors accept "public administration" as broadly including anything on the institutions of government administration at the Federal, State and Local Government levels, along with "anything on the process of administering public policy." Sections are devoted to books, journal articles (nearly 150 journals have been indexed), papers and unpublished reports, theses, official publications, and research in progress.

Each of these is sub-divided into: (a) Federal, Regional and State; (b) parastatal bodies; (c) local government; (d) political and constitutional. Overall as it were, a 19 subdivisional matrix is superimposed on this outline, with sections on economic planning, education, electoral administration, law enforcement, manpower, tax administration, personnel administration, and transport etc. Unfortunately, there are far too many misprints, particularly in the names of authors. More excusably but no less regrettably, there has been no attempt to include those individual chapters from published symposia that are at once so fugitive and so valuable – e.g., the contributions in the volumes edited by Tilman & Cole, Mackintosh and Blitz. La Polombora's volume has been mentioned but none of the relevant chapters from Coleman's companion volume in the same series. Again, the heading "research in progress" includes some pie-in-the-sky entries with estimated completion dates offered by the writers already two or three years overdue; add to this the uncertain reliability and limited range of the material when set beside the best sections and one wonders whether this section might not have been better omitted.

As Murray *et al* point out, "research is recognised as having a practical value, but it only has such if it is available for use . . . there is a danger that knowledge of its existence will be lost unless attempts are made to indicate its existence." Here is the very rationale of this bibliography, a plea echoed at Ife's recent international conference on university research and training in public administration where the proposal for some sort of a continuing *African Administrative Abstracts* was warmly supported.

This directory concludes with a request for corrections to be sent in, since Ife intends to keep it up to date. If they succeed in this, they will again earn the gratitude of all those working in African public administration, those who do as well as those who teach.

In arguing that much of the credit for Nigeria's survival and overcoming of four years of constitutional crisis and civil war deserves to be attributed to the superior calibre of most of its administrators, I would equally argue that such a degree of competence to a large extent reflects the high quality of her Institutes of Administration at Zaria and Ife. If this review is an indirect tribute to the post-graduate work now being carried out at the Institute of Administration of the University of Ife, it may be suitably rounded off by mentioning one more feather in that cap. Those involved in public administration training in Africa today have already noted the series of important conferences held there – often, as we have seen here and before, resulting in publications of substance – they will also take note of the continuing quality of its journal, Administration, now in its fourth year.

A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE.

NEIGHBOURS AND NATIONALS IN AN AFRICAN CITY WARD, by DAVID PARKIN, *Routledge & Kegan Paul, London,* 1969; pp. i–xviii, 228; £2 2s. 0d.

The African city is Kampala, capital of Uganda and Dr. Parkin's field work was conducted there over a twenty month period from August 1962, beginning

during the brief period of internal self-government during which the Democratic Party was in power, and only three months before the granting of full Independence and the change to rule by a Uganda Congress Party government which has remained in office ever since. It was to be expected at a time of such political change that social and ethnic ties would come under strain and it is the analysis of the way in which such ties were maintained or adjusted in the tribally mixed African middle class community of Kampla East Ward that exercises Dr. Parkin in this study.

After placing the area in its geographic and social setting the political stage is set for a detailed description of the Kampala Municipal (as it was then) Council election of 1962. The fortunes of many of the leaders of the African and chiefly immigrant community are followed, but with the introduction to the scene of the Asian, of whom there were large numbers in the ward, it would have been helpful to have had comparative racial statistics for the ward. It would also have been of assistance to the reader if the map on page 12 could have included the ward boundary and an indication of the racial areas of residence at the time. But these are small matters compared with the clear way in which the author makes intelligible the intricate cross currents of evolving local politics involving race and tribe, host and immigrant, religion and socio-economic stratas. By the end of the first two chapters one is in no doubt of the importance of the immigrant African in the area and among them of the predominant influence of the Kenya Luo.

Using examples from the main housing estates of Naguru and Upper and Lower Nakawa, which, incidentally, took many more years to build than 1948 and 1949 (page 13), the status system is explained and with it the universal urban desire to move up the residential area scale as one moves up the social scale. The theme is pursued showing that locality relationships are the domain of the men while the neighbourhood, the smaller unit, is far more significant for the women. Insight by example is given into the evolution of new types of behavioural control which have developed in a surprisingly short time between new townsmen of many tribes with greatly varying social customs and especially those customs which delineate the place of women in the society.

The value of Tenants Associations as a link between the estate management and the tenants becomes clear as does the high standard of leadership in such associations no less than in the tribal associations, chief among which was the Luo Union. The communal unity among the Luo is made as apparent in the study as it was evident on the ground and one cannot but admire a people who could organise themselves so effectively in their adopted land and simultaneously retain an effective network of connections with the tribe in its Kenya home. It is chiefly with regard to the Luo that the theme is later developed that Kenyans unable to be a political force in Uganda expressed a mock solidarity in ideology and ceremonies instead. I, myself, recall attending such a ceremony during which a beaded fez was presented to a senior official of the Union. It was passed round, the design and craftsmanship being much admired. I looked inside. The red felt was liberally stamped with the broad arrow – and who would say that it was not making a useful contribution to local administration?

Such was the relevant importance of the Luo in Kampala East that Dr. Parkin entitles one chapter "The Luo Union and other Ethnic Associations" - the other associations numbered eight. He describes fully the objects and organisation of the Union, notes its close connection with the Kenya African National Union (K.A.N.U.) and resultant conflict with the other main Kenya tribal association in Kampala at the time – the Luhya Association which broadly supported the Kenya African Democratic Union (K.A.D.U.). How differences were resolved only five weeks prior to Kenyan Independence is interestingly told.

The still predominent influence of the tribal system on family life in the Ward is shown by detailed examples and it is interesting to note the stress which the author lays on the difference between host and migrant tribes particularly in regard to the position of married women. The wife in the host tribes, essentially Ganda, but neighbouring Toro, Nyoro and Soga are also included, is relatively far freer than the wife in a migrant tribe, among whom are numbered on the estates Luo and Luhya from Kenya, Acholi, Lango, Alur, Lugbara, Padhola, Teso and more surprising to the non-expert the Bantu Kiga and Ankole Iru. The reasons rooted in tribal custom are clearly explained.

The differences are again made clear in a chapter entitled "Choice Among Kin" where traditional authority systems, stratification based on land tenure, relative levels of bride wealth and inheritance customs are contrasted. These facts are given as a preliminary to the proposition that "distinctly cultural institutions may be used by people to express a type of ceremonial solidarity in the face of political and economic pressures". At the end of this chapter Dr. Parkin writes "while the manifest aims of the associations might be mutual aid, recreation, or political support, the latent were the maintenance of a long chain of communication among leaders of many levels from the Kenya capital of Nairobi, from the Luo capital in Kisumu, from "big men" in Kampala, to the ordinary men and their families making up this expatriate group. It was this link with the ultimate source of authority which was an important factor enabling the Kenyans to be in a position to undertake a phase-out from Kampala without too much personal and social dislocation if this became necessary." Later he develops a part of this theme by case histories of how "an ideology of dutiful brotherhood" interposes between personal independence and legal state-enforceable sanctions – the unwritten, ever changing but generally understood relationships which maintain for the average person the basis for organised living.

It was not until I came to page 192 and read – "There are also two "cultural" systems; an ideology of kinship and traditional custom which emanates from urban domestic life but which becomes a diacritical and syncretic characteristic of individual ethnic groups and tribes people in political and economic contents . . ." that I thought I was getting out of my depth but by this time there was only one page of the final chapter left. It will be apparent, therefore, that your reviewer is no social anthropologist. I trust that the Editor will not be taken to task for this; it would indeed be unfair if this happened firstly in view of the title of this Journal and secondly because I imagine that reviews by professionals in the discipline have already

appeared in the specialist journals. While Dr. Parkin's book is perhaps principally a book for the specialist there is much in it of value to the administrator, and it made me recall, with regret, that the post of Sociologist which appeared in the estimates of Uganda's African Housing Department throughout the mid and latter 1950's was never filled. Interested as he may be, the more senior administrator, even if he has the ability, rarely has the time to keep himself up-to-date at first hand with much of the sort of information provided in this book, for example the extent and rate of increase of mixed tribal marriages and the relevance of ever-evolving social customs in towns. One hopes that in this case the time gap between research and its publication at least to those in authority was bridged. I turned to the appendices in the hope of finding a note on at least some of the findings as they had further evolved by 1969 but while fully appreciating why it was unreasonable for me to have entertained such a thought, I take the opportunity of reiterating the plea of the administrator to the researcher in the social field both for the benefit of his research and that it be made available when still fresh. This would seem to be important above all with regard to the rapidly changing conditions in so many of Africa's larger towns today.

A. H. RUSSELL.

FOOD AID AND BRITAIN, by HAL METTRICK; *Overseas Development Institute* 1969; pp. 124; 30s.

It was primarily the desire to try and clear up some of the confusion surrounding the nature of the world food problem, combined with the fact that questions of food aid policy were becoming of real practical importance to Britain since we were becoming involved in food aid to a larger extent than ever previously as a result of the Food Aid Convention, that prompted this ODI study on Food Aid and Britain. An already large body of literature existed on the subject of the world food problem and also on food aid, often bristling with conflicting opinions, and where I think the major value of this work lies is in its excellent analysis of the assumptions on which the different views rest and in its objective approach to this often emotional subject.

The first area which comes under scrutiny is the world food problem as postulated by the FAO, the OECD and the US Department of Agriculture. Mettrick takes a close look at the projections of the demand/supply position for food in developing countries, all of which, whether on high or low growth rate assumptions, point towards an increasing deficit over the years to come. However, what needs to be emphasized is that this "gap" is a purely hypothetical one, in other words, it is based on constant prices and makes no allowance for the adjustment of demand and supply through the working of the price mechanism. This point has often been obscured in the literature in which the impression is often given that the gap can only be met by commercial imports or food aid. The significance of this is apparent when one looks at the gap more closely and sees that cereals are forecast to comprise an increasingly smaller proportion of the total food deficit: it is unlikely that as high a priority will be given to the stabilization of prices of higher quality goods, mainly consumed by middle classes, as to cereals, the basic food of the poorer sections of the community.

The second chapter traces the history of food aid, from its emergence in the early 1950's in response to the paradoxical situation in which several countries, primarily the US, were faced with growing agricultural surpluses at home at a time when a large number of people in the world were underfed, to the inauguration in 1963 of the World Food Programme and finally to the 1967 Food Aid Convention (which was part of the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations). One of the issues which has aroused the most heated controversy has been whether food aid has been detrimental to the economic development of recipient countries. It has been contended that food aid has depressed food prices in recipient countries below the level to which they could have been held in the absence of such aid, so that farmers in these countries respond by decreasing production. A more insidious effect, it is argued, is that the governments of recipient countries do not feel the same urgency to give agricultural development the high priority it should receive.

These, and further pros and cons of food aid, are examined in detail; Mettrick covers its impact on donor countries, recipient countries and on developing countries, who are current or potential food exporters to other developing countries. The study concludes with some realistic suggestions for future food aid policy. Basically it argues for greater flexibility between food aid and other aid so that the benefits of food aid can be maximised and the disadvantages minimised. Now that surpluses are being "deliberately" produced specifically for food aid, they represent a real resource cost to the economies of donor countries. Therefore there is a case for making food aid substitutable for other aid, rather than additional to it. Also, now that developing countries are giving greater priority to developing their own agricultural sectors, they too will increasingly prefer a choice between different types of aid.

For anyone who wants to have the major arguments and projections on the world food problem and the role of food aid summarised and classified, this study is an excellent guide.

J.L.

BUT ALWAYS AS FRIENDS: NORTHERN NIGERIA AND THE CAMEROONS 1921–1957, by Sir BYRAN SHARWOOD-SMITH. *George Allen and Unwin.* 408 pp. £5.

This book came into my hands in the last days of the Nigerian civil war. I had long looked forward to its publication but when it did arrive I was embarrassed and wondered whether I could in fact review it. At the best of times it is difficult to comment on the literary style – not to mention the life and achievements – of one's erstwhile master; and all of us who had served in Northern Nigeria were wondering at that time whether some of the blame for that unhappy war could not be laid however indirectly at our feet. So I asked three people to read the book. One, who had also served under Sir Bryan, would have nothing of it: another, who for many years had only sat and waited, was converted after reading it. The third, a man of the same age as Sir Bryan, who was an administrative officer in East Africa, had this to say:

"I like the book enormously. It gives a real impression, not only of

physical size, but also of the vast gulf that separates the mentalities and the customs of the Northern peoples from those of the East, South and West.

"As regards physical size, I am accustomed to thinking of Africa in terms of Uganda and Kenya, but it is at once apparent to me that what we called a district in Uganda would be microscopic beside the corresponding territory given to a DO in Nigeria, and it would take what I called a Province, i.e. several districts, to make up what you call a division.

"The problem that confronted the DO in the Emirates corresponds exactly to that facing the DO in Buganda, i.e. the treaty Kingdom of the Kabaka where rule was by the African and the DO was adviser only. I think it is generally not realised that it was in Buganda that Lugard first got his theory of indirect rule.

"The second thing that it brought home so vividly is the vast gulf, mostly mental, that obtained between the Muslims of the North and the 'pagan' tribes elsewhere. They had nothing in common, and it speaks volumes for the skill and patience of all, both British and Nigerian, the leaders particularly, that a common meeting ground was eventually found.

"Particularly it stresses the fundamental difference between what was a natural autocracy and what emerged through education as a political democracy.

"A careful and intelligent reading of this book should convey to any person really interested the foolishness of expecting instantaneous change from a state of war to one of providing relief; we in this country are used to regarding disaster in the terms of Lynmouth or Aberfan, and have no conception of what it would mean to deal simultaneously and comprehensively, and immediately with a frightened and hungry people occupying an area larger than England. This is the point that all news correspondents and the BBC commentator utterly fail to appreciate.

"Thank you very much for letting me see it, I have enjoyed it immensely."

So, properly convinced by an informed outsider that the book was important to all those thoughtfully concerned with the British occupation of Africa, I looked at it again as objectively as I could.

It is a personalised history of more than half of the short period of 60 years during which Britain had responsibility for her largest African colony recounted first by the tongue of a young administrative cadet and lastly be that of a Governor. Sir Bryan is still clearly remembered in Northern Nigeria more than 12 years after his retirement; he is remembered primarily as a man of action. And there is much action in this book; no one can fail to be excited, for example, by the Clements murder, the Zuru fanatic and the sad confrontations with chiefs who had outlived their times. But in addition, one can find traces of the other side of Sir Bryan, his thoughtful concern for all he did and his scholarly and literary tastes. These latter are seen most clearly in his excellent potted histories of major events; his account of the Satiru rising, for example, although deceptively simple to read, is no doubt based on

personal research. And in one notable passage, his letter to Sir Abubakar reproduced in part on page 364, ending with the words "but there is only one Abubakar", there is a style that is compelling and attractive. (There were also memorable moments in which he spoke in a similarly impressive way in the Hausa language which he understood so deeply, but which he does not mention.)

Scholars will, I hope, work over this book and will not be put off by the absence of footnotes, which I personally found refreshing (the maps and appendices in any case are first class). They will, perhaps, conclude that in places Sir Bryan has left things unsaid and that something in consequence has been lost. A small example is at the end of Chapter 21 when Sir Bryan, dealing with the Tijani uprisings of 1956 in Sokoto Province, modestly leaves the reader unaware of the very positive steps which he directed should be taken to redress the social and administrative imbalances on which the revolt had, at least in part, fed. But, of course, particularly in the more important national affairs with which he was concerned, Sir Bryan was and is still unable to tell everything. Perhaps this is especially the case in the changing relationships between himself as Governor and the late Sir Ahmadu Bello as Premier, to which he returns again and again and which are so tragically fascinating. Here Sir Bryan has been more than loyal to the memory of his friend: others would have been more outspoken. I think, perhaps, in those last years, beset by major difficulties of this kind and preoccupied as he was with what really mattered in the long term – the future cohesion of the Federation – he did, on occasion, tend to pay less attention to keeping those in the Provinces fully in the overall picture than he would otherwise have wished.

To those of us in Northern Nigeria at the time, Sir Bryan's retirement created a sense of loss. He has, in part, made up for this now by mentioning our humbler efforts, puting them in perspective, and repainting the broad canvas of that time. This book takes its complementary place alongside the several others of recent years dealing largely with the same period and events. It has an unmistakable basis of deep local knowledge. It displays with great understanding how developing peoples are caught up by the forces of historical change so that their societies are in a state of flux, of transition from traditional to new hybrid patterns. For this reason, it deserves to be read by all concerned with this process of change in whatever part of the world it is occurring.

D. E. GLASON

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SCOTLAND, *H.M. Stationery Office*, London; Report and Appendices; 40s.

Following closely on the "Redcliffe-Maud" report on English Local Government, the "Wheatley" report on Scotland shows a considerable divergence of approach but an equal insistence on the need for the structural reorganisation of the local government system.

As in England, so in Scotland, the Commission found local authorities that were too small for the functions they had to discharge, relationships between authorities over-complicated and making for conflict, and the

relationship between local and central government one that failed to promote a proper sense of local responsibility.

Forty years have passed since local government in Scotland was last reorganised, four decades during which society has undergone the greatest changes ever to take place in a comparable span of years. Inevitably reform was needed albeit the Commission found advocates for the *status quo*, proud of the existing system.

The Commission set out its objectives as power, effectiveness, local democracy, local involvement. To achieve this three levels of local government are recommended: regional – for planning and associated services, and for social defence; intermediate – for personal social services; local – for environmental and amenity srevices, and local consultation. Only the first two levels, however, would be vested with statutory powers in a two-tier system.

Unlike their English colleagues, the Commission considered that "the all-purpose approach, for all its undoubted merits, cannot meet some of the basic tests of an acceptable local government structure for Scotland". They found that different levels of administration were needed for large scale services on the one hand and for local services on the other.

The Commission therefore recommends a two-tier local government system with seven regional authorities and thirty seven district authorities; and for such non-statutory community councils at local level as each district council were to decide as appropriate to its needs, and subject to the expression of a local wish that they be set up.

A minority view likely to find highland support, favoured all-purpose authorities for the Shetlands, the Orkneys and the Western Isles.

While it is hoped that major and radical reform will be followed by a prolonged period of stability, the Commission recommends that an *ad hoc* review body be set up to keep under continuous review such needs for further change as may arise.

How successful may be such extent of local government reform as Parliament may enact, will inevitably depend to no mean degree on the financial resources and the financial powers that Central Government may be willing to accord. To reconcile the tighter control the Treasury feels is required with the need to give local authorities greater individual freedom, will call for "fresh and if necessary radical thinking on the subject."

The urgent need for reform is clearly stated in the penultimate paragraph of the report:

> "Local government in Scotland has lost credibility and status over the years. That is the message which the evidence unmistakably spells out, and our own experience confirms it. It is a serious trend, which is undermining the spirit of self-help and sturdy independence so characteristic of Scottish communities in the past; and it has had adverse effects on the services provided by local government. A new structure makes it possible to arrest and reverse the trend."

The ball has now passed from Edinburgh to Westminster. It is to be hoped that our legislators will take appropriate action.

P.H.J.

Other Books Received

A YEAR BOOK OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1970; *H.M. Stationery Office, London;* appendices, index, map; pp. 800; 70s.

This invaluable handbook, admirably produced contains a mine of information about all the countries of the Commonwealth including dependencies; regional organisations; committees, societies and organisations concerned with the Commonwealth. In addition a great deal of detailed information is provided covering trade, immigraton, students, currency, diplomatic representation. There are Chapters on the development of the Commonwealth, Commonwealth Premiers' meetings and the Secretariat at Marlborough House. Much of the information would be hard to find elsewhere and this is indeed an annual which should be placed among the essential reference books of all those who are concerned in any way with Commonwealth affairs.

THE COMMONWEALTH – A CONTINUITY OF ASSOCIATION AFTER EMPIRE, by LEE KUAN YEW; *Cambridge University Press;* pp. 37; 5s.

The 1969 Smuts Memorial lecture was given by the Prime Minister of Singapore. With felicity and with deep insight, Mr. Lee takes a well balanced look at the Commonwealth at the end of the Ninteteen Sixties. He comments realistically on Britain's prospective entry into Europe and its likely Commonwealth effects. He sees lasting mutual benefit from a continuing Commonwealth provided his courteous advice to Britain on her future role is taken up. This admirable lecture provides a great deal of wisdom for only five shillings.

CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY, by TRAVIS HIRSCHI, *University of California Press,* 1970; appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 309; 85s.

Travis Hirschi's study of delinquency in the United States leads him to the belief that a lot of recent theorising on this subject is not tenable in the light of the facts disclosed by his own research. He sees in the delinquent "a person relatively free of the intimate attachments, the aspirations, and the moral beliefs that bind most people to a life within the law." Delinquent behaviour is no more likely to occur, he points out, in the youth of lower income groups than in higher: it is *natural* and it is likely to occur where ties to conventional society are weak or non-existent. At a time when it is the modern tendency to look for new causes for old dilemmas, to coin new jargon with which to expound new theories, it is interesting to find the author here returning to the early moralistic sociologists who ascribed "one evil to other evils, to assume that if one thing had gone wrong, other things must have gone wrong to bring it about", assuming that crime results from society's failure "to tame and control man's animal nature". Theirs were control theories – they accord very broadly with the theory now advocated by Travis Hirschi.

THE IMPARTIAL SOLDIER, by MICHAEL HARBOTTLE; *Oxford University Press,* 1970; maps, bibliography, index; pp. 205; 40s.

The author was Chief of Staff of the UN Force in Cyprus–the peace-keeping force sent to halt the Greek-Turkish Cypriot confrontation which had brought civil war so quickly in the wake of the independence which had followed the end of the EOKA emergency.

How an UN force composed of soldiers from many nations, can operate in harmony and maintain the peace between communities in conflict, makes both heartening and interesting reading.

Michael Harbottle emphasises the importance of having a well-balanced force in peace-keeping – lack of balance, too great a hotch-potch, made, he infers, for the extent of operational difficulties faced by other such forces elsewhere.

This book is published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs – an unusual tribute for a personalised autobiography, but this is because the author provides a study of international relations, of an international military team in action for peace, with all the complex problems inevitably involved in such an operation – an international team that achieved its main objectives.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF IMPERIALISM: JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE, by ROBERT V. KUBICEK; *Duke University Press, U.S.A.;* bibliography and index; pp. 192; $6.50.

The Commonwealth Studies Centre of Duke University has produced another useful study of the Colonial period of the Commonwealth. Robert Kubicek looks with a felicitous pen at Joseph Chamberlain's notable period at the Colonial Office – an office then under-staffed and over-worked; how it was staffed and how it functioned, the inter-relationship with the Treasury and the Foreign Office, with the War Office during the Boer War. This was a time when the Cabinet lacked the machinery to co-ordinate the work of departments – a cause of frustration to an influential minister with new plans and programmes that cut across the responsibilities of his colleagues. The Boers did not retreat at the threat of war, nor collapse when it broke out – as Chamberlain had expected: his hopes for Southern Africa were shattered. The great municipal reformer-turned-Imperialist, failed to win the backing of the Establishment, or of a static administrative system, to further his imperial aims – and he resigned from office shortly before the fall of Balfour's administration.

AFRICAN MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, by LUCY MAIR; *Frank Cass, London;* map, bibliography and index; pp. 171; 45s.

Only a scholar of Professor Mair's wide learning and experience, could have set out lucidly and within the confines of so few pages, the full and interesting account of African Marriage south of the Sahara, that now makes a valuable addition to the Cass Library of African Law.

Since World War II and stimulated by the liberal ideas of political leaders in the post-independence era, the status of women has rapidly been enhanced. Still, as the author points out,"in general the infidelity of a wife is more severely censured than that of a husband" – indeed, when the all-male district council of the Nyakusa was considering new customary law divorce rules, that male adultery should provide grounds as well as female, took a very great deal of male swallowing.

Here is a standard work of anthropology which is to be warmly commended to students, scholars, social administrators and those concerned with social change in Africa.

AFRICAN POLITICAL SYSTEMS, Ed. M. FORTES and E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD; *Oxford University Press for the International African Institute,* 1970; map, index; pp. 302; 12s.

Eight distinguished sociologists contribute to this symposium of tribal political systems. Nuer, Kavirondo, Ankole, Bemba, Kede, Tallensi, Zulu and Ngwato – East, Central, West and Southern Africa peoples provide the subject matter.

The Editors regard as a problem of world importance the relationship of political structure to the whole social structure. In Africa they argue social ties draw together people who are politically separated, and political ties appear dominant where there is conflict between them and other social groups. Bonds implied in common attachment to mystical symbols provide the solidarity giving political groups dominance over social groups of other kinds. One wonders how far African political leaders in the 1970s would really agree with this, could they or can any of us really believe that

today "in Africa it is often hardly possible to separate, even in thought, political office from ritual or religious office?" This said, here is a very inexpensive volume that all Africanists will find a valuable addition to their bookshelves.

INDUSTRIALIZATION IN AN OPEN ECONOMY: NIGERIA 1945–66; by PETER KILBY; *Cambridge University Press;* map, tables, bibliography, appendices, index; pp. 399; 95s.

The author analyses the process of industrialization in Nigeria in the twenty year period following World War II and including the first turbulent years of Independence.

He concentrates his study on manufacturing and processing industries–palm oil not petroleum receives close attention. Deficiencies there may be, but West African flair for entrepreneurship does seem better fitted to the philosophy of an open economy than the less ebullient attitudes to commerce found elsewhere in Africa.

Peter Kilby believes that in the Nigerian experience economic growth is most dependent on the efficiency (technological and organisational) of converting resource inputs into commodity outputs. Many will surely agree with his concluding observation "a shift in emphasis in the developing effort from maximising public investment and the savings ratio to improving organisational efficiency will yield a higher rate of economic growth in the short run and create necessary conditions for the absorption of new technology over the long run."

As a final appendix to this volume, an article by Father O'Connell on "The Political Class" is included. He finds it "difficult *not* to foresee a period of political instability in which the army may intervene" – he anticipates extensive civil service control over economic decisions and economic growth hindered by bureaucratic stagnation – a period in which the country may be able to work at an abiding political settlement, essential as it must be for stable economic development.

NIGERIAN POLITICS AND MILITARY RULE: PRELUDE TO CIVIL WAR, Ed. S. K. PANTER-BRICK; *University of London; the Athlone Press;* notes, appendices, maps; pp. 276; 55s.

The Nigerian war is over and the need in Nigeria is to be forward-looking, development-conscious; the less attention paid to the past, the better for all concerned, particularly if concentration on national social and economic development can help forget past bitterness. Nonetheless this volume covering, in the main, the period 1966–67 is not without its value. The facts and conjectures collated here come from pens sympathetic to Nigeria's well-being – more sympathetic perhaps to Col. Ojukwu than history books in Nigeria are likely to be. In his chapter on the Psychology of Secession Mr. Whiteman writes that shortly before the Civil War began, "there seemed to be a disastrous impulse to tempt fate and bring on themselves (the Ibo) the very disaster they feared" – the fate indeed to which Col. Ojokwu led them.

RESTATEMENT OF AFRICAN LAW – MALAWI: THE LAW OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; Gen. Ed. ANTONY N. ALLOT; *Sweet & Maxwell, London,* 1970; appendix & index; pp. 214; £3 18s.

Following the admirable method adopted by Mr. Cotran in his similar volume on Kenya, with locally composed Law Panels as the primary source of information, this Restatement of the Law of Marriage and Divorce in Malawi makes a welcome addition to the Restatement Project being undertaken by the School of Oriental and African Studies. The bulk of the work was undertaken by Dr. J. O. Ibik and was completed by Project staff members in London, after he returned to Nigeria.

TRADITION & TRANSITION IN EAST AFRICA, Ed. P. H. GULLIVER; *Routledge and Keegan Paul*; index; pp. 378; £2 15s.

This volume emerges from an African seminar held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, during 1966–67. It contains 15 essays of varying length and

varying quality. Eugene Cotran, as usual, writes clearly and with deep knowledge of the legal systems of East Africa, the sociologists tend to be rather too nostalgic about tribal life, as if they resent the reforms aimed at social and economic development that have followed independence. There is a somewhat naive contribution by Kathleen Stahl on the Chagga, much of which, to say the least, is very open to argument.

PRE-COLONIAL AFRICAN TRADE, Ed. RICHARD GRAY and DAVID BIRMINGHAM; *Oxford University Press*, 1970; index; pp. 308; 50s.

The editors have collected thirteen essays on African trade prior to the Colonial era concerned mostly with the East, Central and South-West areas of the continent. The useful research involved has resulted in an interesting addition for the Africana bookshelf – interesting to the general reader as well as the researcher, the sociologist and the historian. Some Nyamwezi would probably suggest that their sphere of commercial influence spread deep into the Congo, not merely through the Uvinza salt trade but through expanding political power before the advent of tsetse fly. It is pleasant to find a reference to the Kisi Pot Fair in the Tanzanian North West corner of Lake Nyasa (not Kisii of North Malawi as stated on p. 29). No doubt each week-end at Ikombe near Matema, the same teeming throng of middlemen from far-afield come to barter with the Kisi women folk for their vast stock of weekly baked pots of many shapes and sizes, as they did 100 years ago, ever since the small tribe found refuge on the Livingstone mountains hillside – when they moved, so they say, from the Songea district at the time of early Angoni invasions. The men fish and cultivate a little of their steep hillside, the women concentrate on making the pots that travel even in the days of cheap metal utensils, to Malawi and Zambia and far into the Tanzanian hinterland. "Bertha's Pot" of vast size, won a prize and was regarded with awe at the Mboya Agricultural Show in 1953.

A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF GHANA, by KWAIMNA B. DIXON; *Cambridge University Press;* maps and diagrams, appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 349; £7 10s.

This is a very finely produced work of scholarship providing a detailed historical geography of Ghana from the earliest times to the eve of World War II. Dr. Dixon has fulfilled the very worthwhile task of providing for all Ghanians and all students of Ghana, a wealth of historical information with which to understand the present all the better.

The book is divided into four parts. The first takes the reader from pre-history to the end of the Seventeenth Century. The second covers the next fifty years and the third the following 85. The fourth part carries the story up to 1939. This is a history of peoples, their agriculture, their trades and settlements, and of how they met the impact of the missionary and the colonial era.

THE GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, by D. J. MURRAY; *Clarendon Press, Oxford*, 1970; bibliography and index; pp. 393; 80s.

This is a strange book. It is strange to find in 1970 study of Rhodesia that is, it seems, principally intended to confound Colin Leys' small classic (*European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, 1959); it is strange to find a serious study of this type that excludes all current political events; it is strange to look at the index and find no reference to Ian Smith or Sithole, to Todd or Welensky, with a single passing reference only to Tredgold and Whitehead.

Gann's approach to Rhodesia may be controversial and to some illiberal in outlook, Leys' to some perhaps too radical. Both have made the reader realise that Rhodesians, black and white were real people living in Africa whilst the winds changed. Here, however, is a clinical approach that reveals a great deal of learning and knowledge, but, apparently, little appreciation of changing human factors – to which of course Colin Leys was fully alive. To one reader at least, there is nothing here to show that Colin Leys' was other than a shrewd and accurate diagnosis of the government system that the dominant minority group was operating in the Nineteen Fifties.

CITY POLITICS – A STUDY OF LEOPOLDVILLE 1962–63, by J. S. La Fontaine; *Cambridge University Press,* 1970; tables, maps, appendix, bibliography, index; pp. 247; £4 5s.

In the rapid period of sudden change that followed the independence of the Belgian Congo, Leopoldville (now, of course, Kinshasha) was the centre of volatile, turbulent, political strife. Mr. La Fontaine's study covers a very short period in the life of a fast changing city. He does, however paint into his canvas the immediate pre-independence background. He provides a wealth of information on the social, economic, political and administrative facets of a new nation's capital. The author sees growing discontent among lower-income groups, among the new, young educated elite – if this is so, possibly it is the successful working of the patronage system which he describes that has enabled Joseph Mobutu to provide such a stable and successful administration for his people against very heavy odds.

NAURU – PHOSPHATE AND POLITICAL PROGRESS, by Nancy Viviani; *Australian National University Press;* appendix, notes, bibliography, index; pp. 215; $ (a) 5.00.

How a tiny isolated Pacific Island of only 3,000 people, battled-scarred from World War II, long dominated by powerful Phosphate Commissioners, administered by a distant Australian Government, achieved complete independence in January 1968, makes a fascinating story, admirably told by Miss Viviani. If Australia did not pursue a particularly enlightened policy as UN Trustee for Nauru, enlightened Australians there were to help Head Chief De Robort further successfully his efforts to lead his fellow-islanders to Independence. The U.N. Trusteeship Council provided considerable impetus to these efforts. Meantime hard bargaining had provided the Islanders with complete control of their major industry and thereby economic viability at Independence – and the means, it is to be hoped, to build up adequate financial reserves while phosphate deposits remain, with which to resettle surplus population elsewhere once the deposits are exhausted in some twenty years' time.

PERU, by Sir Robert Marett; *Ernest Benn, London*; illustrated, map, appendix, bibliography, index; pp. 280; 45s.

Sir Robert Marett provides a new history of Peru which should prove a useful addition to the bookshelves of both general reader and student interested in Latin America. Of particular interest to readers of this Journal will be the chapter on Urban Assimilation. Here he tells how a family came to settle in one of the *barriadas* that virtually surround Lima, when immigrants organised the invasion of Benavides and staked their claim to a place in the urban environment. Shacks with no services gradually became homesteads with most of the basic amenities. Straw turned to brick, services arrived. No paradise indeed – but no sordid urban slum; the development of *barriadas* in Lima, as in other Latin American cities, can be regarded as a successful solution to the problem of mass urbanisation.

As the economist will point out, however, staggering problems of employment face the government in the task of creating jobs for the *barriada* residents, many of whom, meantime, at best subsist by marginal activities, few find a place in well paid unionized industry.

POLITICS IN MODERN GREECE, by Keith R. Legg; *University Press, Stanford, Oxford University Press, London,* 1970; appendices, notes, bibliography, index; pp. 367; 95s.

Western democracies always watch political events in Greece with a special affection and perhaps a special sentimental lack of detachment. Where democracy evolved (albeit no vote for slaves) there should it flourish. Hence, in the West, a greater irritation is felt when Greece undergoes a military coup than were this to occur in many other lands.

Despite the brilliance of Greek entrepreneurship, despite considerable aid as one of Europe's less developed countries, the want of natural resources inhibits development. As Keith Legg concludes "the Greek economy is tied to agriculture; but land scarcity, excessive farm fragmentation, rough terrain, and poor soil make any extensive develop-

ment of commercial agriculture problematical." Modern Greece has not succeeded in making participatory democracy work effectively – hence the unstable equilibrium in which no immediate end can be foreseen.

SPAIN, by GEORGE HILLS; *Ernest Benn, London,* 1970; illustrated, map, appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 480; 60s.

The author, after painting in the background history, concentrates on modern Spain. He provides an excellent chapter on the Civil War, and sensibly devotes the latter half of his study to the three decades of General Franco's Government – useful material for traveller and student alike.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT & PLANNING, Ed. BASIL CHUBB & PATRICK LYNCH; *Institute of Public Administration, Dublin*; index; pp. 369; 75s.

The Editors have prepared this symposium of previously published material on the new approach adopted by the Irish Republic in the Fifties and Sixties towards the development of the national economy. According to the editors a revolution in economic thinking occurred in this period; from an era when Ireland displayed symptoms resembling the "death wish" of a society, with the co-existence of unemployment, high emigration and underdeveloped resources, a national commitment towards planned economic growth emerged which there seems reason to hope will make planning in Ireland effective and acceptable.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CORPORATE TAX, by SEAN REAMONN; *Institute of Public Administration, Dublin,* 1970; bibliography, index, pp. 276; 75s.

Company tax in the United Kingdom before the Corporation Tax of 1965; dividends and tax; "double taxation"; company taxation; the U.K. Corporation Tax; Corporate taxation in European countries, Israel, the U.S.A. The author examines all these facets of Company taxation in a study which has rarely, if ever, been undertaken before. Finance Ministers and their Treasury officials in open economy countries will find useful food for thought.

CASEBOOK IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, by R. JOSEPH NOVOGROD, MARSHALL EDWARD DIMOCK and GLADYS OGDEN DIMOCK; *Holt, Rinehard & Winston, New York*; pp. 339; $4.95.

The authors set out eighteen case studies covering a wide field of Public Administration in the United States. The purpose is to stimulate classroom discussion, and, while each case study shows what was actually done, the authors do not attempt to suggest what the solution should have been. These are very personalised studies and contain a great deal of "question and answer" used in the author's interview-method technique.

YUGOSLAV CIVIL LAW, by A. G. CHLOROS, *Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press,* 1970; index, pp. 285; 60s.

Following an interesting historical outline, the author sets out the family law and law of property now in force in Yugoslavia. Official doctrine and the practice of the Courts are explained; in all this useful and unusual insight to the socio-legal framework on which society is based in the most liberal of iron curtain states, should prove of interest to readers within and without the legal profession.

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